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Lehmiller, David J.
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McCann, Ray E.
Mills, Robert L.
Moore, Gary A.
Norville, Jerry L.
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Reilly, Neil B.
Rowe, Bobby G.
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Smith, George D.
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Johnson, David K.
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Kammeler, Richard A.
Lefebvre, Edward E.
McGhee, Wyatt L.
Milner, Eldon S.
Pfoff, Billy J.
Pollard, Thomas J.
Rodriguez, Virginia L.
Sheffield, Paul J.
Strate, Robert D.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ASSURING MIDDLE EAST PEACE

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, only 15 months after the conclusion of the 6-day war of June 1967, through Soviet deliveries of new stores of sophisticated modern arms, Russian "advisers," and economic and diplomatic support, Arab militarism has risen from the ashes of defeat to renew its warfare against Israel through guerrilla incursions and border attacks. The Arabs seek to erode efforts for peace by diplomatic maneuverings and threats of another round in the Arab-Israel war.

With the growing Soviet position of strength in the Middle East and the increased Arab bellicosity, it would seem logical, that the United States would bolster our friends in the area. We are not doing this in the case of Israel even though both political parties in their platforms have planks pledging arms aid to Israel to preserve its freedom and to maintain the balance of power in the Middle East. And both Houses of Congress have similarly gone on record.

The administration must no longer hesitate to discharge the expressed will of both political parties and of both Houses of the Congress—and the will of the American people—but should immediately commence the arrangements to permit Israel to purchase needed supersonic Phantom jets from the United States.

I wish to append an article from the September 13 issue of a leading New York weekly, the Jewish Press, which eloquently states the case for this aid. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE U.S. DELAY COULD BE COSTLY

The United States has delayed the shipments of Phantom Jets to Israel far too long. As of this moment Soviet ships are making ominous military moves in the Mediterranean and a constant surveillance of the U.S. fleet is underway by Soviet TU-16 jet bombers, with "Egyptian" markings. These jets carry radar and submarine detection devices. Russia and the Arab nations know exactly how many ships and submarines we have in the Mediterranean, and where they are.

It is ironic that Russia has placed these supersonic jets at the Arabs disposal when Russia needs every one of these planes for defensive warfare!

U.S. intelligence claims there are only 4,000

Russian personnel in Syria, Egypt and Algeria. However, with the Russian "advisors" who are piloting these planes, our sources claim the figure comes closer to 10,000 men.

If Russia should give the word tomorrow to the Arabs to attack—it would be impossible for Israel to withstand the onslaught of the TU-16 jets. Not only that, the U.S. forces in the Mediterranean would be completely overpowered and destroyed. The Russians have charted our every move in the Mediterranean for the past three months. It would be a simple task to pre-set their missile control computer in Egypt and create all kinds of havoc in a matter of minutes.

However, if the U.S. would send Phantom jets to Israel, we would stand a fighting chance. Once the gauntlet is dropped it will be too late!

The U.S. must realize the immediate danger to this country as well as Israel and ship the Jets immediately—if only for our own safety!

ISRAEL'S URGENT NEED FOR PHANTOM JETS

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply disturbed, as are many Americans, about the continued unrest in the Middle East.

To my mind the state of affairs in that part of the world could be greatly assisted if this country made up its mind, and promptly, to provide Israel with the arms that it needs for its own defense. We cannot expect the Arab world to lessen its pressures or to change its warlike intentions other than through a realization that another conflict with Israel would have as devastating an effect as the last one. The Arab world, like its sponsor the Soviet Union, understands only one deterrent factor, force of arms.

Israel is today a beleaguered state surrounded by enemies. It has no desire for territorial expansion and it wants nothing more than to be left in peace. But peace for Israel is impossible in the light of the insistent pressures, terrorist activities and open threats of conflict which constantly face it from the Arab nations.

Since the Israel-Arab conflict in 1967, the Soviet Union has furnished the Arabs at least 450 tanks and 250 aircraft. The Arabs today have roughly twice the number of aircraft than the Israelis have. Although Israel has made appropriate deposit of the outstanding balance for the Mirage-V jet fighters ordered from France, France has so far been unwilling to supply these aircraft to Israel.

Premier Eshkol during his conversa-

tions with President Johnson requested 50 F-4 Phantom jets. The official position of the administration is that "the President agreed to keep Israel's military defense capability under active and sympathetic examination and review in the light of all relevant factors, including the shipment of military equipment by others to the area."

That "sympathetic examination" is still undoubtedly going on, but no F-4's are being sold to Israel. The ostensible reason for this appears to be that the administration hopes to reach an understanding with the Soviet Union over an arms balance in the Middle East. I, too, believe in a limitation of arms in the Middle East, but not a unilateral limitation by which our friends are deprived of the means to defend themselves while the Arab forces are generously supplied with arms by the Soviet Union.

And in any event I must point out that any understanding with the Soviet Union relating to an arms balance in the Middle East must now be viewed in the light of the recent actions of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Speaker, both on the basis of national interest, as such is furthered by any step toward maintaining world peace, as well as on the basis of moral considerations which our country traditionally has viewed as a proper basis for its foreign relations, dictate that the administration's "sympathetic examination" be translated into prompt delivery of F-4 Phantom jets and such other armaments as are required by Israel at the very earliest date.

Our friends need our help, and our interests dictate that we give this help.

By following this course, we will actually be helping to preserve the peace and prevent war in the Middle East.

CUBAN EXILES IN FLORIDA

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, during all of its history, the United States has opened its doors and its heart to those who flee despotism, privation, and repression. The landing each day in Miami of the freedom airlift from Cuba is but an updated version of the arrival of the Mayflower in 1620. As with the Mayflower, the airlift brings with it a people searching for new horizons, seeking the

recapture of lost liberties and subsequently content that their quest has been fulfilled.

With minor exceptions, those who come to our shores under these conditions become productive and exemplary citizens. However, there are some who, through a misguided fervor to restore in their country the liberties they find in America, engage in wanton acts of violence which cause irreparable harm to the country which gave them refuge.

Typical of these extremists is a small but determined group in the Miami area whose most recent activities include the sniping of vessels in the Miami port, extortion, and the terrorist bombing of business places. Needless to say, the people of the Miami area are horrified by their acts of terrorism.

A particularly apt résumé of the activities of the extremists and of the effects of their actions appeared in the September 23, 1968, issue of the Miami News: CUBAN EXILES LIVING WITH "REIGN OF TERROR"

(By Terry Johnson King)

By the time you read this, some Cuban exile terrorist may have planted another bomb somewhere.

Perhaps it will have gone off.

If so, as sure as Castro makes little red statements, there will be a "secret" hand-delivered (nobody ever knows by whom) press release. It will be signed Ernesto, Antonio, or some Latin-flavored name, and it will claim credit for the violence.

The reason it is hand-delivered is because these terrorists know a federal statute when they see one—they're not about to mis-use the mails.

If the bomb doesn't go off, and many don't, you may not even hear about it. For every attempted bombing that is investigated (36 so far this year in Dade County attributable to exile sources) a number go unreported for fear of unfavorable publicity.

It's like fighting a libel suit, to report an unexploded bomb; it only calls attention to a bomb-worthy situation.

Miami's Cubans are living with a reign of terror that, so far, has been largely confined to their own neighborhoods and businesses. Almost daily now, incidents are reported locally as anti-Castro factions drown their sorrows and vent their frustrations in dynamite and C-4 plastic explosives.

It has been an escalating war. It started with smoke bombs and tear gas being tossed into festive gatherings among Cubans, set off by malcontents who said the exiles had no business having parties while their country was in the hands of Communists.

From there it grew. Dynamite was tossed into stores that sent drugs to Cuba—they were "trading with the enemy" when they sent badly-needed supplies of penicillin and antibiotics to the aged and infirm in that country.

Then it was C-4 plastic bombs—a sophisticated weapon, and too sophisticated, it turned out, for the clumsy terrorists. It was a long time before they could figure out how to make the things go off.

And finally into such advanced warfare as sniping of a Polish ship in Miami's harbor last week; and the increase in bombings of commercial establishments which do not "co-operate" with the terrorists.

Miami Police Chief Walter Headley says much of the bombing is done for extortion. Merchants are asked to contribute to the counter-revolutionary causes. If they don't, they quickly learn the consequences. Cuban sources say extortion has nothing to do with it—it is simply a "philosophical" method of

keeping the community in line, supposedly so it can fight the tyranny of Castro.

Last week, four reporters-in-exile were blindfolded and driven aimlessly about the city, and finally taken to a hooded character who said he was "Ernesto"—the leader of Poder Cubano (which translates as Cuban Power but, confusingly, it is not the same group which calls itself Cuban Power).

The cloak-and-dagger encounter was reported straight-facedly, including the statement that Dr. Orlando Bosch, one of the noisiest of the militant anti-Communists here, would assume leadership of Poder Cubano.

It could have been for real (some of the newsmen have their doubts)—or it could have been somebody else's cunning plot. For Bosch, who knows full well there's a bounty on the head of any member of Poder Cubano who is identified, has disappeared in the wake of the unwelcome publicity. All par for the course.

There are some 54 exile groups. The most aggressive are a small minority. They are controlled and financed by the wealthy who lost great holdings when Castro took over nine years ago, but managed to fall back on resources they'd been bundling out of Cuba in the years before.

Some of the groups consist of men who fought with Fidel until the surface was scratched and his communism came out. Others are outright supporters of former dictator Fulgencio Batista, hopeful of putting his policies, through a puppet, back in operation.

Election year speeches tend to encourage them. Ed Gurney, Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate from Florida, said last week, "we should train, equip and aid responsible Cuban freedom fighters in their efforts to overthrow the Castro government."

The key word in the statement may be "responsible," but none of the militants are likely to admit they are irresponsible—and responsible people are not likely to be militants.

Also fanning the flames of the near civil war that brews in Cuban neighborhoods are the extreme right-wing exile publications. Chief of these is a newspaper, "Patria," which is commonly supposed to exist on money from Batista.

In addition there are bulletins, magazines, other papers, newsletters—published here, in California, New York and Mexico—which defile the terroristic strikes against non-cooperators, either here or elsewhere.

Aside from Poder Cubano and Cuban Power, the most militant groups are: White Hand, directly by a man who calls himself Michelta; the 7th of December Movement, directed by a man who signs himself Antonio, and the Secret Anti-Communist Army.

The MIRR—Insurreccional Movement of Revolutionary Recovery—is generally presumed to be the front organization for Poder Cubano. And another group, not heard of too often, has entered the age of specialization: the Garcia-Cornillot Group makes a practice of bombing just foreign consulates of countries that trade with Cuba.

All the terrorists have the same modus operandi. A bomb is set, and if it goes off successfully, a press release is issued claiming credit.

Those from Poder Cubano are signed "Ernesto." The signature is wavery, obviously left-handed. The fact that the signatures vary bears out the theory that the group consists of 10 people, each of whom calls himself Ernesto and is entitled to act independently of the others whenever he can gather his own cadre.

White Hand and Cuban Power peevishly charge that Poder Cubano swipes their headlines by claiming responsibility for ALL acts of violence, some of which the other struggling groups have committed.

With all the various organizations, methods and philosophy, there is one unified aim of the militants: to return the Cuban exiles to a "free" Cuba, no matter what means must be taken. This, despite the fact that recent studies indicate the vast majority would stay in Miami even if Fidel toppled.

They are settled here, most have more physical comforts than in their lower-middle class pre-Castro life. Rather than provoke unpopularity in the exile community, however, they continue to profess Cuban super-patriotism.

The identities of many of the terrorists in this new-style Cuban Mafia are known, but as one bombed-out businessman said, "Why should I ask for a second dose? I do not wish to discuss the matter further." He termed it "an unfortunate accident."

His associates reckon the next time he is asked to support the Cubans' favorite charity—anti-Castroism—he will do so more readily.

Meanwhile, the Miami-based consuls of countries that trade with Cuba tremble daily as they start their cars (a bomb was wired to the Mexican consul's auto), open their offices (the Spanish National Office of Tourism has had three bombs planted), or go into their homes (a bomb exploded in the garage of the British consul's Coral Gables residence.)

Hardware stores do a brisk trade in one-way mirrors and door-peepers. Fear lies over the Cuban community like a catalfque. Nobody wants to do anything with an unexpected present—it could be a time bomb.

One businessman, a boat-builder, recently called the Hialeah police when a heavy, clumsily-wrapped package arrived from an unknown character in New Jersey—where they had just uncovered a Cuban arsenal. The bomb squad unpacked a propeller being sent back for repair.

The police and the FBI reckon they have not gathered enough legal evidence to convict any of the people they suspect of being terrorists. They wring their hands and exchange bits of information, most of which is obsolete by the time they uncover it.

And meanwhile, the Cuban exiles live in a climate of fear they thought they had escaped when they fled their homeland.

The offenses committed by the terrorists are violations of local laws, but there are also national and international implications. For these reasons I have had the staff of the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, of which I am chairman, working on this matter.

Various agencies of the Federal Government that are concerned with enforcement of Federal laws involved are within the subcommittee's jurisdiction, including the Justice Department, the Bureau of Customs, and the Coast Guard. In addition, I have recently written to the Attorney General as follows:

SEPTEMBER 23, 1968.

HON. RAMSEY CLARK,
The Attorney General, Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: Recent terrorist activities in Miami and other parts of our nation, perpetrated by a small group of Cuban extremists, are endangering American lives and property.

The vast majority of Cuban exiles have proven to be exemplary guests in our nation. However, this militant minority is violating not only our local laws with attacks on foreign ships and bombings of business places, but also is violating a host of Federal laws.

For these reasons, I seriously urge a prompt and thorough investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Immigration authorities and other agencies involved to bring these criminals to justice.

While I fully support the legitimate efforts of the Cuban exiles to free their homeland, we cannot allow a terrorist minority to jeopardize lives and blatantly violate our laws in the name of patriotism.

Sincerely yours,

DANTE B. FASCELL,
Chairman.

CUTBACKS IN SCHOOL FUNDS

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Labor-HEW appropriation bill, now in conference, contains a number of provisions in disagreement wherein the Senate has increased Federal school aid funds over the amounts in the House bill and, in a number of instances, over the President's budget. The attached editorial from the August 2 Rome Daily Sentinel is indicative of the widespread public support at the community level for needed funds for our schools.

The Nation's children are the Nation's future. And their education assures the future both for them and for our country. I am hopeful that the conference committee, of which I am a member, will have the vision to approve these needed funds. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOHNSON CUTS ROME SCHOOL AID

Passing almost unnoticed in the President's impromptu press conference the other day was his off-hand reference to the fact that he did not intend to release the more than 90 million dollars Congress had authorized to aid schools in federally-impacted areas.

Rome is such an area because of the added burden placed upon it by the children attending our schools who are related to Griffiss AFB. Failure to release these funds will cause the local system to lose approximately \$250,000 it has budgeted for the coming year.

These funds were allocated by the Congress only after considerable study and thought in both houses and careful consultation with school officials from all over the nation, including a representative from Rome.

Why President Johnson chose to ignore this documented need we may never know. He may have been chastising the Senate for failing to approve his Supreme Court designations or he may have been disturbed at the inflationary implications of the steel settlement. He can point to the mandate handed him by Congress to save \$6 billion of federal spending.

In any case, the impact on the school budget will be considerable and the necessary cuts to cover the loss of a quarter of a million dollars will be difficult for the school board. If this federal money is to be permanently cut off, the costs will be added to the local tax dollar.

TOWNSEND PROPOSAL EXPANDED TO AID ELDERLY, OTHERS IN NEED

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, for the past several Congresses, I have offered legislation proposed by the Townsend Foundation to improve economic conditions of the Nation's elderly.

The late Dr. Francis Townsend accomplished much during his lifetime to focus public attention on this great need. In my judgment, a large share of the credit for eventual development of the present social security program rightly belongs to Dr. Townsend and his dedicated associates.

The gnawing fear of the future felt by millions of Americans a few decades ago now has diminished and the phrase, "over the hill to the poor house," no longer is commonplace.

Most of us will agree, however, that further improvements in our present system of providing security for older Americans and the public assistance programs may be both necessary and desirable.

In the 90th Congress I introduced H.R. 5930, which is somewhat different from the original Townsend bill. In addition to providing monetary benefits to persons 60 and above, based upon minimum wage standards, it also would assist persons who become unemployed due to automation—students, and the disabled.

This measure contains many ideas worthy of exploration and as a matter of public service I feel it important that the proposal be before the Congress in order that its contents receive full consideration in developing new approaches to meet unfilled needs.

On August 22, Mr. John Doyle Elliott, secretary of the Townsend Foundation, appeared before the Democratic platform committee in Chicago. He discussed H.R. 5930 and how its provisions could be made applicable to our present society.

The following is Mr. Elliott's testimony:

From the start, of the social security issue, over thirty-three years ago, it was my conviction only an impoverishing version of social security could ever result from the stingy principles and policies adopted in 1935—and that applying the already obsolete rules of scarcity would cruelly mismanage the abundance even then clearly within our grasp.

Since World War II, virtually every Congress has fulfilled my prophecy by passing ever broader Social Security Amendments, only to face the necessity for still greater ones, every time. The growing problem steadily outran the feeble remedy. History's time's run out for mere steps-in-right-directions.

When he signed the latest, 1967 Amendments, President Johnson created a new commission "to examine any and every plan, however unconventional, which could promise a constructive advance in meeting the income needs of all the American people." A most encouraging and revealing action and announcement.

That Commission, The President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs, should cornerstone the Institute on Retirement Income, urged by the Senate's Special Committee on Aging—especially in view of their report announcing that they've at last concluded that *lack of income* "is now more than ever the MAJOR PROBLEM" of the elderly (Senate Report No. 1098). And, even more especially, their admonition that the situation will "steadily worsen unless a genuinely comprehensive federal action is fashioned."

THE TEST OF PROPHECY IS FULFILLMENT

Facts: In spite of all our social security programs and policies (both public and private, combined with all other income people themselves can acquire), those over 65 share less and less, year by year, in up-to-date income and living. Analysis of Census Bureau's annual reports (Series P-60), on income-distribution to persons by age and sex, authentically certifies that truth:

In 1947, persons over 65 had only 34.5% the median income of persons 25 through 64. By 1964, it was down to 31%—by 1965, 30.5%. In 1966, despite the 7½% benefit increase by the 1965 Amendments (and liberalization of government, labor and business plans), it fell to 28.9%—a DROP of over 16%! From 1947 to 1966.

Even had the 1947 ratio improved, say to half the up-to-date, adult level, it would have been a severely punishing failure. But, it dropped over 16%!

In recent years, this decline has accelerated. In 1964, men over 65 had a median income of \$2,037—\$2,904 LESS than men 55 to 64 (women over 65 had \$952—\$958 less than women 55 to 64). In 1965, it was \$2,116—\$3,134 LESS for men (\$984—\$1,035 less for women). In 1966, it was \$2,162—\$3,588 LESS for men (\$1,087—\$1,129 less for women).

A final fact completes the picture. The same source shows in 1947, 10,641,000 aged 65 and over—in 1966, 17,937,000—increased 68.9%. In comparison, in 1947 we had 72,497,000 and in 1966, 85,241,000 aged 25 through 64—increased only 17.6%. Thus, the elderly are increasing four times as rapidly as younger adults. From 1947 to 1959, the ratio was but 3½ to 1; showing it to be a rising one.

In short, steadily greater economic depression for an ever greater part of our adult population—to whose membership virtually all of us are destined—the aged.

I believe nobody can require a more unanswerable picture of failure. Present stingy programs have been better than none; but, imagination can't grasp the utterly excuseless privation and denial amidst abundance endured by American people because of these mean programs, based on the obsolete rules of scarcity. Only to the extent that we wipe out this deflation of human living can we ever beat inflation which is its inevitable counter-effect. Nor can we achieve the just equality the name "America" has always promised—except as we put an end to this bitter inequality.

Therefore, our leadership at last calls for real answers to "the income needs of all the American people." That call not only recognizes the failure of past policies (but for which that call would never come), but also signifies that they do not have "adequate financial mechanism" to implement the prosperity which must move in if poverty is to move out.

I—and those I represent—have known that "mechanism" over all past years of this issue. My personal assignment has been to preserve it and to develop its application as our country's social security experience (under present programs) unfolded during these past three decades.

Since our responsible national leadership has now withdrawn its commitment to apply

programs based on the old principles of scarcity which were adopted in 1935—I now present that “mechanism”—the one, do-the-job plan. First, I hereto attach a completely drafted bill—H.R. 5930, sponsored by Rep. John J. McFall—which completely defines and provides for the rights, purposes, authorities, duties and ways-and-means necessary to end the problems of social security and poverty in this land.

Then, I herein present certain purposes and provisions and deal with certain questions as to this bill's necessity for the prosperity which alone can displace that poverty.

Purpose: To amend Title II of the Social Security Act to provide a national pension for retirement at age 60, disability and certain other conditions. For all persons equally—sufficient to protect even beneficiaries with no resource other than this benefit from poverty.

Beneficiaries: (a) All persons aged 60 and over, or disabled, or female heads (regardless of age) of families having persons under age 18 dependent on them or persons aged 18 to 25 engaged in full-course educational, or vocational training so long as they advance in accordance with accredited standards in schools, or other training supervision approved by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare—subject to \$1 monthly loss of benefits for each full \$2 earned monthly in employment, or self-employment, in excess of \$100 monthly—shall be full and equal, “primary,” beneficiaries.

(b) All persons found *physically and mentally competent*, but whose employment has been eliminated by changes in industry and business resulting in employers having no work for which such persons are qualified—subject to \$2 monthly loss of benefits for each full \$3 earned in employment, or self-employment—and subject to such persons (in common with any other disabled beneficiaries) fully cooperating in any programs approved by the Secretary of HEW to qualify them for existing and available employment consistent with their health and abilities shall also be full, “primary” beneficiaries.

(c) All persons under age 18 orphaned, or otherwise deprived of parental support, or dependent on any of the above “primary” beneficiaries—subject to \$1 monthly loss of benefits for each full \$2 earned monthly in employment, or self-employment in excess of \$50—shall be entitled to one-third of the benefit currently being paid to “primary” beneficiaries.

Definition of poverty: Sec. 230(11) of H.R. 5930 (attached) states, “The terms ‘poverty’ and ‘free from poverty’ refer to and relate to an individual's having or lacking sufficient money-income to enable him reasonably to command fully healthful diet, respectable clothing and housing, full medical and health insurance and care, normal participation in recreational, social, cultural and public life and affairs; and in no case shall such money-income accruing to an individual over 18 years of age be justly considered to amount to less than the money-income received from a regular employment-rate of 40 hours a week under the prevailing Federal Minimum Wage.”

Benefits: In view of the above definition of poverty and the requirement that the benefits of this Act “assure persons having no resource other than their benefits under this title freedom from poverty”—and since the Federal Minimum Wage is \$1.60 an hour—the full, “primary” benefit now would not be less than \$260 a month.

Payment of benefits: In place of present Social Security taxes, there will be a tax of 1% for the first six months under this Act on the gross money-receipts of all persons and companies (except the first \$250 monthly of personal gross receipts will be exempt). Starting with the seventh and every third month thereafter, the tax rate will rise $\frac{1}{4}\%$, until it reaches $2\frac{1}{2}\%$, as of the 22nd month.

Beginning with the seventh month, after defraying administrative costs monthly from each month's revenue, respectively, the revenue from the first month will be distributed as benefits—the revenue being equally divided by the number of full benefits eligible (taking into account the number of full benefits represented by all the various partial benefits); etc., each succeeding month.

Section 212 of H.R. 5930 provides that these benefits will absorb all benefits under present OASDI programs. Any OASDI benefits temporarily greater than initial benefits under this Act will be paid at full rate by using needed money from the OASDI Trust Funds. Nobody will lose any benefit already earned.

The need and cost of nearly all Public Assistance will automatically be absorbed by benefits under this Act. Public Assistance titles should not be repealed because exceptional circumstances in individual cases and possible catastrophes might find the benefits of this Act temporarily inadequate.

Before turning to the “financial technology” through which such benefits are to be implemented, beneficially to all honest interests, let us note certain obvious truths about these benefits. First, the benefits of this Act will stand the permanently and temporarily unemployable (as distinguished from unemployed who are employable) *solidly* on a “floor of prosperity” below which they need never live. Present programs' inadequate benefits literally hang people under a “ceiling of poverty”—right in the midst of its misery.

Nobody need more than look at the millions—especially our ever-growing legion of elderly—who are unemployable, to realize that until we establish this “floor of prosperity” below which all persons encountering unemployability need not live—we won't conquer poverty and its unjust evils, no matter what other successes and glory we achieve. In fact, the greater our other successes and glories, the less justified becomes our continued allowance of poverty in any form!

Second, the benefits herein proposed must be viewed in the light of creating what other proposals and existing programs do not—that prosperity (as defined above) which must replace the poverty which constitutes our problem—and our danger beyond anything any foreign foe may venture.

In this respect, we have so-called “poverty-lines” (as promulgated by the Soc. Sec. Admin.) and “eligibility-criteria” (per war-on-poverty officialdom for calibrating individuals' needs for aid). These standards are not only “ceilings for poverty” under which people are suspended, right in poverty's midst; they're not better than halfway up out of it, to start with! Not, at least, as far as freedom from want is concerned, even though superior to Public Assistance standards, now, in most States.

These “poverty-line” and “eligibility-criteria” standards postulate about \$3,300 a year for a city family of four (parents and 2 children). Less than \$70 a month per person. For a rural family, it's nearly a third less. Why, it costs \$2 a day to board our pet cat when we have to be away—in a cage! Cat and dog pensions for people?! War on poverty?!? The irony is this—these “poverty-line” and “eligibility criteria” standards are the up-to-date “Betterments” being proposed in compliance with the old, obsolete concepts and rules of scarcity on which present policy and programs are based! And they are better than most States present Public Assistance guides—in many states, extremely better.

On the other hand, effective since the first of this year, is the new Federal Minimum Wage—product of many, many years of testimony, study and debate. It is Congress' own judgment of the minimum, money-income for an individual worker to keep fit to work—the minimum for which we may conscientiously

(and in law) take the time, life of another for our benefit, or profit.

The Minimum Wage is in no way related to whether a person is man, or woman. In city, or country. Old, or young. A single, unattached person; the only breadwinner of a family; or, one of several earning members of a family. It is strictly minimum, as of the individual person, regardless of any other consideration.

It is *very close* to twice that for a single, unattached, city individual by the “poverty-line” and “eligibility-criteria” standards; nearly thrice that for a country individual. It's nearly all that allotted a city family of four. Nearly *half again* that accorded a family of four in the country.

These “Poverty-Line” and “Eligibility-Criteria” standards are right down in the poverty pit!

They can never lead to ending poverty. Rather, they will serve to perpetuate it.

Only instituting the floor of prosperity conceived in the benefits provided by the great, national pension of H.R. 5930—the Pay-As-You-Go Social Security and Prosperity Insurance Act—can lead to the end of poverty and make social security a living fact in our country. Without these benefits, poverty will continue.

Therefore, I advocate that the Party of Progress and Justice—the Democratic Party—adopt in 1968 a Platform plank declaring this Party's purpose to be the *establishment of that floor of prosperity below which Americans will no longer need to live to the end that freedom from want and the equality among all Americans which has so long evaded us will be achieved.*

The retirement test: This is specified above in the descriptions of the various beneficiaries. It is of utmost importance as the provision which inter-relates equitably the unemployables receiving the benefits of this plan and the employed, working population. There must exist a thoroughly defined bridge between the employed and employable and those who are unemployable both in the normal sense (like the aged, the physically and mentally disabled) and in the sense of being wrongfully retired and unemployable—their occupations rendered unworthy of hire by progress and change, for example—or, as yet, not having obtained the education, training, or experience to command existing employment.

In my research and analysis and study, this \$1-for-\$2 ratio between benefits and earnings, this specific “retirement test” was formulated. In 1955 and 1956, constructing bills competently to embody this great-national-pension concept, it was applied. It called for (and H.R. 5930 now so calls) beneficiaries to be allowed to earn \$100 a month (\$50 for dependent children), then lose \$1 for each full \$2, monthly, earned in employment, or self-employment.

Workers and earners—especially since spouses will have exactly the same retirement rights and benefits as workers for money-pay—workers will be able to EASE from full employment into retirement over a significant span of years, without hardship. A worker will be eligible at 60 completely to retire. But, he could well afford, in most cases, to ease up on such activities as overtime and other pressures, say after age 55—or, even, if health, or other interests so advised, after age 50.

With the spouse acquiring the same benefit at 60, most couples could well afford to discount possible earnings in favor of health, for example, in the years prior to retirement.

On the other hand, many workers—their spouse's benefits considered—being averse to retirement, hale and hardy—they need not fully retire. A worker could ease up on his work at age 55 (or, even, 50)—ease into partial retirement on benefits offset by earnings after 60—and continue substantially productive to age 70, or even older, before becoming fully retired.

However, let this be clearly realized: The just described bridge between employment and retirement can only exist desirably and equitably if the poverty-excluding benefits of this plan exist! Under lesser benefits (to say nothing of the poverty-perpetuating, scarcity-conceived benefits of present plans—and, just as bad, under the "poverty-line" and "eligibility-criteria" standards we've discussed)—under such anti-prosperity schools of thought and program, no result worthy of the name American can be remotely hoped for! Let alone this happy "easing" into retirement—and out!

Without these benefits and the prosperity only they embodied in our Federal Social Security system can ever provide, the needed and inspiring, just and equality fulfilling attainments of freedom from want and of happiness successfully pursued are out of the question.

To be specific: If this plan were now our law, the primary benefit would be of the order of \$260 a month, \$100, plus twice \$260 (\$520), would be \$620 a month—before a worker would have eliminated his whole benefit by earnings. Such a worker couldn't be considered as retired—certainly not impoverished.

In the same light, consider the disabled beneficiary. The disabled could strive for rehabilitation and attain whatever productive and occupational ability he might actually have as his potential—realize his actual potential, whatever it might be. In all respects, he would be motivated by gain—handicapped by no penalty. Let all Americans be so insured—instead of facing the punishing poverty, discrimination and degradations past and present—even contemplated policies embody!

Like nothing else possible, this would activate the last vestige of motivation in a disabled person to undertake, strive to accomplish and master, earn and serve—foster, not penalize, every desirable and commendable pride and dignity. But, only IF the "prosperity-insuring" benefits of this plan are instituted.

Like the retired elderly, the disabled beneficiary will be able to EASE in and out of retirement, as opportunity, health and ability appropriately indicate.

In the same way, dependent children will be able to ease into productive occupation, aiding in family support, gaining experience, funding towards future education—with every pride based on full equality of rights and fully respectable position and opportunity.

Again, however, it must be noted that no such benefits to society and the image of our country in the minds of Mankind are possible, unless there exists the Social Security-benefit system defined and provided by this Act.

Surely, I don't need to complete the list of beneficiaries and the application of this retirement test—under this benefit plan—any further. Let us turn to the essential question of the "financial mechanism to make these potentials realities."

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL TECHNOLOGY

In terms of amounts of money, the Pay-As-You-Go Social Security and Prosperity Insurance Act is virtually unprecedented. Contemplating not less than 25 million primary beneficiaries at a monthly benefit probably to average (taking account of various deductions via retirement tests, etc.) over \$200 a month—it is of the order of a probable \$70 billion a year, under present conditions and standards; this, it is always to be remembered, however, is also the measure of the value of the losses we now bear because of the problems this will solve. An investment in prosperity and unfolding economic growth and social achievement without precedent.

To take such a sum out of wages, salaries, profits, etc., which now exist, is out of the question. Present, scarcity-conceived policies and programs seem to have approached the limit on that kind of thing—with the poverty-stricken results that should have been expected.

Under the advent of abundance, we began the production of a new commodity—it goes under such names as sufficiency, surplus and, of course, abundance. It is really our constantly growing ability to produce; not only expanding, but accelerating under the impact of such wondrous tools as automation and, now, cybernation.

It is out of this new productivity which we've so frequently failed to employ, except in ways which resulted in automation, for example, taking jobs, income and life away from people. In all justice and right, such a thing as automation should never have hurt anybody and should have benefited all.

I believe the "ways and means"—the system of finance—presented in this Pay-As-You-Go Social Security and Prosperity Insurance Act—will create new, additional money representing such new, additional, expanding productivity. By financing the benefits of this plan with this new money—instead of money deducted from existing income—we will create a new employing force which will constantly grow in direct step with our ever-rising productivity.

Then the poverty represented now by the sorely under-financed people who would, dominantly, be the beneficiaries of this plan—that poverty will be replaced by a wondrous, new prosperity.

Furthermore, it is a prosperity which can never exist unless exactly the things proposed in this plan are actually done. That is unanswerable logic.

Under the pressure of emergency, or necessity, we have done this sort of thing, but without definitively realizing that we were creating "new money" for new, or additional needs and purposes. For example: We did not finance World War II out of our 1935 to 1938 economy—out of such levels of wages, salaries, profits, etc.

Congress declared "State of War" the law of the land. Under that authority, our Government instituted legal contracts with industry, business and labor to do all the things to achieve victory. These contracts under the law of the land authorized the additional, new money—by contract law—which financed the entire war-effort and everything directly and indirectly connected with it.

It was not financed out of existing money, or production, or capital—like the mere \$35 billion a year national income previously in force. It was financed out of our unused productivity—by the legal authorization, based in an Act of Congress, for it to be done. Overnight unemployment vanished everything was humming!

Another example: The last Congress added 35 cents an hour of new money—not money out of existing funds—to every employment contract under the Federal Minimum Wage; raising the Minimum Wage from \$1.25 to \$1.60 an hour. New money, not money out of existing incomes, by a universal contract imposed by Act of Congress on other contracts, namely, Minimum Wage employment contracts.

Further example: Every time labor and employers institute a raise in wages, etc., by newly negotiated employment contracts, and for numerous other benefits as well, the same thing happens. Contract law creates—authorizes—new, additional money in recognition of new productivity, new economic values, economic growth.

Examples and experience are endless—but, they've not been thought of in this light. Certainly not in relationship to our problems of social security and poverty. Our new industry of space—that of electronics—they

are not burdens—they are sources of new employment and new prosperity.

That is what we must make of our social security and poverty problems—sources of new employment and prosperity. Not liens on existing income and production. This time, we must do it consciously, deliberately—because the substance of value involved is not one we can put on the market and sell—not even to government. Old age retirement years can't be sold to somebody else, for example.

Yet it is the most precious, valuable of all forms of wealth—human life itself.

For years, now, with rising frequency, study after study has emerged verifying what many of us clearly discerned in the 1930's—that we have the wealth-producing ability to abolish poverty. But, we are endlessly admonished that we do not "possess adequate financial mechanisms to make these potentials realities."

Section 214 of the Pay-As-You-Go Social Security and Prosperity Insurance Act presents that adequate mechanism, or financial technology, so to speak. It is a tax on the gross receipts of all persons and companies, nationally.

By its very prima facie definition, it automatically applies to and embraces all business contracts and transactions executed in the whole United States of America.

Therefore, in addition to all the wages, salaries, profits, commissions, rents, rates, fees, dividends royalties, interest, capital gains and taxes (which, when expended by government become the other categories of incomes to people) in addition, this Act will authorize 2½% more money. Just like the extra 35 cents an hour on minimum wages—by the same authority—an Act of Congress. Than which nothing could be more valid!

With that money, let us finance the retirement years, life under disablement, a substitute for the family's lost breadwinner, full support for the qualified student to procure the full education God gave him the ability to acquire and the character to desire—and support for those whose jobs are destroyed incident to progress.

There is the missing "mechanism"—the "financial mechanism" to make our potentials to abolish poverty into realities.

Observe certain obvious facts: The gross receipts of all persons and companies exactly equal all the wages, salaries, profits, rents, rates, commissions etc., of all persons and companies. The same sum of all these forms of income to people and companies also exactly equals the price-cost structure of all goods, commodities and services. Money is the common denominator of all such values agreed, contracted—and consequently is the medium of their exchange. For people, that same money is the very license to live.

The auto manufacturers and allied industries, by contract with the unions, created pensions and numerous other considerations. For the 30-years-in-the-industry worker they created very much the same retirement finance this plan will create for all the American people. Of course, for the 15-year worker they could do only half as well and for others accordingly. But this Act will cover all employment of all the people all the time.

There is no good reason at all why we can't—by this universal contract of the gross receipts tax—based on the gross, current, dollar value of all other contracts, transactions and incomes—provide exactly such fine social security and freedom from poverty for all the American people.

No reason why we can't, as the President requested via the Commission on Income Maintenance Programs, "meet the income needs of all the American people" in all the areas of life and its contingencies reflected in the benefit categories of Social Security and this Act.

No matter how these problems may ever be

replaced by blessed, happy solutions, precisely the things defined and provided by this plan will have to be done—most especially of all, the authorization will have to be made of the new, extra money to finance exactly the benefits, or income to people herein proposed.

I believe no other thing—had we had it in the past—would have done so much good for our people, or been so mightily to the credit of our country in the conscience of Mankind as would this plan. While we've foregone that profit—yet, by the same reason and merit no other thing can do so much good, in the same areas, and for the same reasons in the future.

EVALUATIONS

The "universal contract" of the gross receipts tax will (under any given rate) automatically alter its yield of money-revenue in direct ratio to any and all economic advances and/or any other changes. The benefits will not be left stranded behind the times, so notoriously and punishingly the case with most present and past programs.

Unlike even present, unique and rare programs (and proposals) altering benefits in compensation for changes in cost-of-living and, lately waking up, for changes in standards-of-living, too—this Act will not wait for changes to take place and for accommodation of benefits to them. The revenue will automatically increase and its distribution will automatically and swiftly be reflected in benefits.

Whenever, due to technical progress, or any other cause, a development occurs which would, otherwise, cause unemployment, or displacement of jobs—even their elimination—this gross receipts tax will automatically cause this new, different form of productivity to produce money-revenue to finance new demand, hence new employment.

No other "mechanism" can so meticulously, so automatically, fully have this result.

The definition of gross income—gross receipts, adopted in H.R. 5930, embodying this plan, is taken directly from the Indiana Gross Income Tax Act, in operation since 1934. There is no question, therefore, as to its administrative efficacy. An entirely similar system has been in operation, with famed administrative efficiency, for the same period, in Hawaii.

The specific adoption of the Indiana definition of the tax-base forecloses what may be termed "academic" arguments—or stratagems of reactionism. For example, those who always cry "inflation!"—or, those who (not thinking, merely reacting vocally) allege that such a tax would "pyramid" prices as goods were sold from the manufacturer to the retailer to customers (with the numerous steps intervening)—thus, they claim, inflating prices.

Without having to examine such arguments at all, the Indiana experience automatically renders them nil—because, if they held any truth, Indiana could not have kept it in operation a few months, let alone 34 years!

Had we been so foresighted and morally concerned in the past as to realize when our great progress, necessary for the betterment of all of us, involved injury and loss to some of us, we should have fully compensated those injured, or damaged—that realization could have enabled us to face the problems in their infancy. We could have headed off the history of lagging social justice dogging our wondrous technical progress. Today, the results of that failure, morally and otherwise, in flame and riot, bid us to honor justice in the fullest way—and promptly—from here out.

This line of perception calls attention to the losses and costs to all of us which our failure to perceive and do these things we ought to have done has caused us, as a people,

and in terms of the strength, unity and prestige of our country in the world.

A look at any recent monthly issue of the Social Security Bulletin shows the expenditures for outrageously inadequate benefits and results—yet totalling some \$30 billion a year! And all of it—together with all other public and private efforts combined—have actually lost ground (as I documented early in this testimony) against the problems.

All those and inestimable resulting losses and costs will be abridged, absorbed by this program—plus successful ending of the problems' evil damage, too—a double payoff.

Actually, the indirect losses have been represented and manifested by our numerous "recessions." Listing here would be endless and to little end. Anybody caring to recall them will soon realize that the value lost of idle men, idle money and idle machines and plant capacity, since, say, 1930, is a figure much greater than the cost of World War II.

There are also the intangible losses, not measurable in money, weights and rules. The loss of heart and faith among our people—the failure and penury and dependence where respectable success and justified pride should have known fulfillment—our tarnished image to the world indicate its nature.

Had we done these things for people—prospering instead of impoverished retirement—decent care and support in disability and in family loss of the breadwinner—educating those denied it—decent, poverty-free support of those denied hire by the impact of automation and other progress until they could acquire new, employable skills:

Had we done these things for the freedom and prosperity of people, we'd have prospered our country beyond estimate. We'd have made the mightiest investment in national glory and human betterment ever yet conceived.

How in the past, how in the future can we better employ our money and wealth?

In terms of evaluation, let us look at the question of inflation. Whenever proposals to advance social justice by any use of money have been made, "Inflation!" they cried.

Under this plan, there will be no inflationary effects—because it is dedicated explicitly to one, direct thing, namely, to reflate the deflated human life in our economy. If anything is not inflationary, that's it!

By its very definition, the gross receipts tax on all persons and companies will draw revenue from all economic activities and functions—those tending to result in inflation, those tending to result in deflation, included. That revenue will be channeled to finance human living and economic operations at the average levels, the norms. Nothing can be more non-inflationary than that.

Explicitly, it is the most anti-inflationary, anti-deflationary, pro-stabilizing possible program.

Should it not be asked, "How can anybody stand beside Liberty in New York Harbor, behold the multi-multi-billion dollar skyline of Manhattan—then, contemplate the ghettos of Harlem—yet fail to comprehend where the inflation really is?"

Or, "How behold the stupendous rocketing of California to the status of Number One State, surpassing even New York—then, contemplate the ghettos of Watts—yet fail to see where the inflation is and where it is not—and where the deflation must be made, before inflation is ever going to be deflated?" I don't think persuasion on this point requires any excursion around the whole country to establish the point.

Yet those and like ghettos are but a part of the real, whole one. In every community in our land, there's the ghetto of our elderly whose average member lives on but a third (in fact less) of the up-to-date, adult standard of income, the very license to live—with multitudes faring much, much worse! Then,

there's the misery of the disabled and the families deprived of parental support. Those like the coal miners with their skills rendered obsolete and valueless by the very progress which is so essential to our general betterment; and those lacking in the tools of education and training. There is the real ghetto—sprawling from coast to coast.

Inflation and all that ghettoism are both products of the same failure to recognize abundance and its nature—mistakenly trying to manage abundance by the obsolete, punishing rules of scarcity. The unhealthy, destructive immoral poison of that injustice has been accumulating now for a solid minimum of 40 years.

I don't believe we have time remaining to play with palliatives for another span of years—rather I believe we have but time, as a major national project, to take the full actions necessary, now, promptly to wipe out poverty. Let us no longer squander "History's precious gift of time." The things spelled out in this plan must come to pass.

I respectfully urge, therefore, that the American Party of Progress—the Democratic Party—adopt and promote a Platform Plank to establish a floor to prosperity below which Americans will no longer need to live—to replace the mean, discriminatory concepts of scarcity which have defeated fulfillment of our country's promise of liberty and justice to all—honest equality.

Profoundly grateful that in this year 1968 the truth has focused and the President has directed at last that we must "examine any and every plan", I am proud to present this plan, the Pay-As-You-Go Social Security and Prosperity Insurance Act and H.R. 5930 embodying it—confident that the time is at hand when the great achievement in human betterment and world-inspiring unfolding of a new order of human freedom, which this plan will provide, will be called for by our country.

GEORGE WALLACE—AN ANSWER?

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to introduce a few questions and facts about George Wallace that may be of interest to Congress and the American people who will shortly cast their ballots for our next President.

FOUR QUESTIONS TO ASK YOURSELF ABOUT WALLACE

Would you really want George Wallace's finger on the "button"?

Who are Wallace's associates who might become Cabinet officers or other Government leaders?

Does Wallace have any program for America beyond the two-point speech he uses constantly?

Without sufficient Congressmen from his party serving in Washington, how does Wallace plan to bring about the changes he talks about?

WALLACE CAN SAY ANYTHING—DELIVER NOTHING

Wallace has no party structure behind him. There is no slate of congressional candidates or even courthouse candidates included in his American Independent Party campaign. The AIP is not a third party, it is a nonparty. It is one man running for the Nation's top job with no officials to back him should

he be elected. Our system of government was established with checks and balances so that no one man could seize total power. The American people hardly want a change in that philosophy.

WALLACE RECORD DOES NOT REFLECT HIS PROMISES

His record as Governor shows fiscal irresponsibility with budgets up 50 percent and bonded State indebtedness at all-time high.—From the Bureau of Census reports on State government finances and the annual reports of the State comptroller of Alabama for 1963 and 1966.

His record shows that centralized State power at the expense of local government was preferred in Wallace administrations.—From an article by Victor Gold, "The Rise and Stand of George Corley Wallace," Human Events, January 27, 1968.

His record shows that Alabama took \$2 in Federal funds for every dollar it paid into the Federal Government under Wallace rule.—From a special report of the Library of Congress, "Selected Federal Expenditures and Total Tax Collections by State, Fiscal Year 1967."

His record shows that while Wallace was Governor the crime increase in Alabama was consistently greater than the national rate of increase.—From the Uniform Crime Report for the United States, published annually by the FBI.

ALABAMA UNDER WALLACE WING

Of interest to wage earners: Alabama ranked 48th among the States in per capita income, \$900 below national average.—From the Survey of Current Business, U.S. Department of Commerce, August 1968.

Of interest to parents: Alabama ranked 48th among the States in money spent per pupil in public schools. Also had one of the highest illiteracy rates in the Nation.—From Estimates of School Statistics, National Education Association, published annually.

A MOST IMPORTANT POINT ABOUT WALLACE

Wallace cannot win nationwide. By voting for Wallace you are really throwing away your one chance of getting something better for your country.

THE IMPORTANCE OF GEOGRAPHY IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE CURRICULUM

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the next October begins the 50th anniversary year of the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. The school is now in the process of revising its curriculum in the hope of making it even more effective in preparing young men and women for serving their country abroad. As the Nation's oldest institution for the training of personnel for careers in both diplomacy and trade, the School of Foreign Service has produced in its

half century an impressive number of graduates.

Dr. Hunter, a professor of geopolitics at the School of Foreign Service for 22 years, has written an interesting and informative article about the importance of geography in the school's curriculum. As a protege and associate of Dr. Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., the school's founder, Dr. Hunter outlines the integral role of a broad interrelated background in government, economics, history, language, philosophy, and geography seen in the school's original structure. This, rather than any specialized or narrow training, would best prepare men to grapple with the problems of international relations and foreign trade. Because of the significance of this development, not only to other colleges and universities but also to those who are intending to prepare themselves for service abroad, I submit the article for inclusion in the RECORD, as follows:

SOME THOUGHTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON GEOGRAPHY AT GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

(By James M. Hunter)

"What's in a name?" Shakespeare cast his thought to roses, but herein attention is directed to the following: (1) School of Foreign Service, (2) College of Arts and Sciences, and (3) Geography. There is more than an adequate reason for this since it is felt that the variety of interpretations involved has, in part, influenced the present status of this University. No more than a passing glance can be devoted to the first two items. However, it should be sufficient to raise a vital and fundamental question without being presumptuous enough to assume the true knowledge of each. The third case is entirely different. It involves a chosen discipline, a life's work and a desire for a just treatment of a noble science. Hence, the third item can be analyzed with authority while only generalizations will be made on one and two.

It seems well within the realm of reason to assume that the graduates of the School of Foreign Service should be able to attain positions overseas with either private enterprise or the government. This situation obviously requires a sound knowledge of areas outside of but related to the United States if the individual is to perform his functions at the highest degree of efficiency. Of course there may be many other goals but it is questionable that any could be considered more fundamental.

Excluding the fact that in some cases the parents select the course and school, it also should be considered that each student was motivated, in part, to this specific choice through a definite interest, of one sort or another, in foreign regions, and that someday it is well within the realm of possibilities that he will be required to understand and work in one of them. Had he wanted merely a major in Economics, History or Government his logical action would have carried him to a different school within the University. This generalization is indeed brief, but who can deny, with sound logical reasons, that foreign service automatically involves foreign areas? By implication this is also in the name of the School.

In contrast with the former, it would appear that the main purpose and function of any Liberal Arts program would be to educate students in any or all the Arts and Sciences and to assure that within that process there is a liberalization that will extricate the mind from the bonds of provincialism or any other stultifying force. To be sure, the method and procedure to this goal will vary from school to school just as the desire and ability of the students involved will not be constant. Still the funda-

mental function, as found in the name, remains similar. Any student in any Liberal Arts program should find available the widest possible variety of disciplines for his selection of a major, along with the greatest number of courses therein. Any school which attains this goal with the highest degree of efficiency will never want for faculty, finances or students. All students should not be "poured" into the same mold. The University should fit the needs of the students.

At Georgetown University a basic problem of curriculum is found within each of the before mentioned schools and also exists as a vital question between them. Students who select the Liberal Arts and Science program are able to graduate with credit in all the courses found in the present Foreign Service curriculum and in addition will have a definite major such as History, Government or Economics. On the other hand it can be stated, that the graduate of the School of Foreign Service will hold credits in most of the courses found in the Liberal Arts program, but will not have a major in a specific discipline. At this time there is nothing unique or different to distinguish the graduate of the Foreign Service School. Basically he has the same curriculum as is found in the Liberal Arts program. "What's in a name?" Shakespeare continued "That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet". The curriculum of the School of Foreign Service has the smell of Liberal Arts.

How could changes in the curriculum of each school benefit the students and the University. A full answer to this question cannot be stated by any single individual. However, constructive suggestions are apt to come from almost anyone. It is hoped that these suggestions will fit the latter description: (1) The Liberal Arts and Science School must expand its selection of majors; (2) Each Department must be free to develop a basic format which will be essential and adequate for that discipline and for the variety of student; (3) Among the many additions should be the science of Geography; (4) All disciplines must be received as equals in status. If this sounds idealistic, it is no more so than the motto "educate the whole man." In fact the latter is possible only when all the former are available.

Likewise suggestions to strengthen the Foreign Service School can be enumerated: (1) Reexamination of the curriculum as it existed in 1946, for example, could reveal the unique quality and purpose of the School. This is not a process of "going backwards instead of forward". Indeed it could be a partial solution to solving the future. Perhaps it would be found that around that date or shortly thereafter "the baby was thrown out with the bathwater"; (2) Geography is primary to an adequate education and preparation for foreign service; (3) Each course, and indeed the sequence of courses must never lose sight of the primary function of the school. Thus a given course in one school should be geared and numbered for that school and any substitution of courses between the schools should be only with the approval of the department advisor and the evident need and interest of the student. It can be seen that a common problem, for both schools, is the lack of a viable geography program. The remainder of this article is devoted to that problem.

Geography is a Science. It is and has been a very respected academic discipline and program in leading Universities all over the world for hundreds of years. Upon graduation vast numbers find employment as geographers in Education, Industry, Agriculture and Research. Governments find that it is of primary importance in the formation, interpretation and implementation of state policy, domestic and foreign. However, contrary to common thought at Georgetown University, Geography is not the science of the planet Earth. It is not the study of the relationship

between man and the natural environment and neither is its content that of the adjustments man has made to his environment. Finally and most emphatically, Geography is not the process of memorization of facts and place names.

The above are factual statements. To anyone doubting them or who may want to challenge the nature of geography it would be only an elementary task in research to find, within the span of a few hours, vast and significant verification. Such literature is available and accessible for all who are interested. Therefore it would seem fair and logical to assume that the majority, if this is the character of the process, of those molding academic policy at Georgetown University over the past fifteen years or so have (1) never been able to comprehend that the above are facts; (2) they disbelieve them but have not researched them; or (3) they hold predilections along with an unwarranted hierarchy of disciplines and other prejudices. But before going any further let it be firmly stated, however, that this short article does not involve personalities. It is not directed toward any one individual nor any one group. Such an attitude, although prevalent at Georgetown, is really of little value since it generally fails to reach to the basic issues. In fact this article is merely an honest response to an invitation and the sole purpose of it involves the desire to strengthen the University by a reaffirmation of geography and thus contribute at least to the fulfillment of a basic need of the students of the Walsh School of Foreign Service. The intent is to be objective and to approach the subject in accordance with the standards set down in "Mores of Methodological Writing" (R. Hartshorne, *The Nature of Geography*, Association of American Geographers).

In 1946 when students were returning to the University after the second World War and also, in many cases, after extended travel which had increased their informal knowledge of the known habitat of man, this University had the beginnings of a formal program in Geography. It was not comparable to the level offered by other Institutions. However, the prospects of a future situation were presented in a charming and favorable manner when this writer accepted the invitation to join the faculty. Progress and development were assured.

At that time six semester hours were required in the College of Arts and Sciences and a graduate of the School of Foreign Service would have ten hours and several in allied fields. For the next several years the former school had many different teachers and none was satisfied with the slight progress. Each of these men in turn sought and found productive positions. It is apparent the program had to face far too many unnecessary obstacles. Nongeographers created geographic policy. Later, after the unification of the staffs in the two schools, it was finally possible for this writer to recommend two students with a major in Geography for the Baccalaureate degree. One was given recognition by the National Council for Geographic Education for his scholarship. In the College of Arts and Sciences it can be said emphatically that Geography has never been granted equal status with the other disciplines. This policy spread to the University level when unification of faculty and departments took place.

In 1946, on the so called other side of the campus the atmosphere was more conducive for growth. Under the leadership of The Rev. E. A. Walsh, S.J., the School of Foreign Service gave due recognition to the qualities and values of the science. Progress, although slow, was present and it was apparent that his plan included the expansion of the formal program. One entire wing on the first floor of his proposed building was devoted entirely to increasing those facilities

which are essential to a well developed program. It is indeed truly unfortunate for the University that this building was not constructed and that its place was taken by a parking lot and a Gym.

Father Walsh held a warm attitude toward the science perhaps as an outgrowth of his overseas duties and quick intellect. He realized the untold variables distributed over the earth and he attempted to understand them. His international recognition, perhaps, reached its zenith when he was called upon by the government of the United States to interrogate K. Haushofer. Father Walsh was able to expose the distortion Haushofer and the Nazi government had given geography. He was able to do so simply because he had read and studied geography and kept abreast of Haushofer's work in the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*. It was at this time that Georgetown University, primarily through the leader of the School of Foreign Service, enjoyed an era of international and national fame. All too often his valuable contributions are minimized or even forgotten. However, the School, its various programs, and hence the reputation and function were all vested in one man. Great as he was, it proved to be an unhealthy situation. The effectiveness of The School of Foreign Service was directly related to the well-being of the individual. Father Walsh after a period of ill health died and with him, apparently, went all his productive plans.

A change occurred in University leadership which although similar in structure it was dissimilar in viewpoint. A new curriculum deemed best by them was developed. The discipline of Geography was all but eliminated in the University. In the School of Foreign Service, where it is most essential, it was almost impossible for the student to even select it as an "elective". Thus the entire University program stands in contrast to the general situation in Colleges and Universities in the United States, and in the World, where Departments of Geography are rapidly increasing and expanding. The primary exception to this forms an interesting pattern. Its structure is composed of those schools sponsored either directly or indirectly by the Roman Catholic Church. Only two Universities in this category can boast of adequate programs! (This situation is rather difficult to understand since we are all well aware of the active role the Jesuits, for example, took in providing leadership in the exploration and even the mapping of new lands. But apparently this is where their development in the science rests. None of them is within the list of scholars who know the nature of Geography.) Albeit, it should be obvious by now that no matter how sincerely this curriculum was developed, it has many errors and shortcomings. The program in Geography was cut in order to provide available additional hours for courses in other fields. Thus the very basic lack of an adequate selection of a major was further reduced.

It is obvious that Geography or for that matter ANY selected subject may not be necessary for every student. Likewise, it should be equally obvious that it, or any other selected discipline, would be critical in some programs. It is suggested that the latter, without doubt, are The School of Foreign Service students along with the Government and History majors. Further, it is recommended that majors in Physics, Biology and Chemistry along with those in Business Administration and Economics would find six hours correlated with their interests extremely valuable. However, Geography should have recognition and status beyond this service function. Any student so inclined should be able to select this science as his major in a true and adequate College of Arts and Sciences. At the present, under the existing curriculum this right is denied the Georgetown student. A change in the following direction is warranted.

Geography is a chorological science; em-

pirical, idiographic, and in part nomothetic. It is dedicated to the acquisition and understanding a knowledge of the earth's shell as the habitat of man. The achievement of this goal is in direct relation to attaining an awareness of how man has integrated the heterogeneous phenomena into homogeneous, functioning units. The earth's shell includes the surface of the earth along with the zone of mineral resources and the atmosphere. Within this totality there is infinite variety which man, as yet, is unable to resolve. To organize this habitat of man geographers have constructed a system of classifications. Thus while examining the earth-shell it becomes evident that there are different population zones and patterns, mountain ranges, patterns and methods of land utilization, atmospheric conditions, and political organizations among a host of other variables.

These are grouped first according to their general character. Further investigation will reveal that there are dissimilar features within these similarities which will also distinguish a unique character from the general. The heterogeneous phenomena may at first seem divisible into separate components of human and "physical". Indeed they may be so treated in other disciplines. Geography, however, has the core of its subject matter in the reality of the habitat: in the analization of the integrated Whole formed by the intimate, intrinsic interrelationships between the human and non-human variables. It is not concerned with a view limited to the individual non-human phenomena, in structure nor with particular categories of them. Neither is it concerned with the social life of man nor any aspect of it when it is separated from the rest of the habitat. The striking contribution which Geography makes to knowledge is that all the earth-shell objects, found and treated independently in other sciences, are brought together as they exist in reality; as integrated and interrelated Wholes. Scholars of all types could profit from such knowledge.

Geography has evolved through the development of ideas and concepts. It would be difficult to indicate the genesis since surely the first use of any of its content was informal. Man traveled and as he ventured away from his known habitat, he was confronted by new surroundings and different problems. Upon his return perhaps he reported his observations, by description, to his neighbor. In this process Geography developed as a chorographic subject. Georgetown students need to hold a knowledge of this view.

Later, scholars were able to organize the content of these earlier descriptive observations and give them meaning through analization and interpretation. Thus Geography was changing from chorography to chorology. Georgetown students need to hold a knowledge of this change before they can fully comprehend the science.

Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, Ptolemy and Kant are names our students are no doubt familiar with, but to fully know Plato and the rest their views on and use of Geography is essential. This is especially true for Kant who established Geography as a University discipline and successfully taught it for some forty semesters. Our Georgetown scholars need this knowledge. Strabo suggested that anyone interested in a solution of the common problems of man such as those connected with population density or with the world's starvation zones would also be interested in geography since a knowledge of it would be essential to the process of solution. He also identified Geography as being exceedingly important for all generals and "Geography, in addition to its vast importance to social life and the art of government . . . marks him who cultivates it as a man earnest in the great problems of life and happiness." Yes, our students could profit and gain new ideas if they could study

Geography. They would become familiar with the ideas of Ritter, von Humboldt, Peschel, von Richthofen, Ratzel, Hettner, Sauer and Hartshorne. They would come to know where von Moltke learned his Geography. They would be able to identify the geographic concepts which are being implemented by the Soviet Union, and they would know the real problems in Southeast Asia.

The Association of American Geographers published in 1965 a report; *Geography in Undergraduate Liberal Education*. On page three, six significant values of the science are listed. It is felt that they are worthy of being repeated herein:

(1) It exhibits the causal interrelations of physical, biotic and human phenomena, and shows how these can serve as clues to the origin and function of socio-economic and political processes.

(2) It stimulates the observation of pattern, especially regularity in the occurrence of landscape phenomena.

(3) It provides the key to understanding the importance of place in human affairs, in historical as well as in contemporary perspective, so that the student sees the present world in context.

(4) It cultivates as sense of value relative to man's stewardship of the earth.

(5) It fosters the appreciation of differences and similarities from place to place; the geographer views the world as both richer and more significantly complex because it is diverse.

(6) It involves the student directly in the study of the real world (through map and photo interpretation and field work) and encourages him continually to test abstraction against experience.

Now if there is anyone who feels he would not profit from a real study in Geography, he must be one of two possible types. It is assumed the first of the two classifications would be the individual who holds a complete knowledge of the truth. It is doubtful that he will ever exist. The second must be the antithesis of this or the man who knows nothing of the truth, the fool.

Names are important, but they must have true implementation if they are to have significant meaning. The curriculum of The Welsh School of Foreign Service must include course work which will center attention on the reality of the earth-shell as the home of man if its goal is to be attained. The College of Arts and Sciences must be liberalized and expanded in order to fulfill its basic function. In each case it is evident that Geography becomes a key discipline. It must be permitted to contribute its true portion of knowledge to Georgetown students, but the discipline should not be hampered and governed by the immature concept of the name held by non-geographers.

One last idea from Hettner's work, "Das Wesen und die Methoden der Geographie", *Der Geographische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XI, 1905, Leipzig, p. 551, in which science is divided into three types: (1) the systematic which considers concrete objects such as in botany or zoology; (2) the chronological or historical sciences in which time is primary and; (3) the chorological in which space is primary.

"With the same right as the development in time, the arrangement of things in space demand special attention, and one is astonished that logicians who realize the necessity of the former/as at Georgetown University?/ overlook the latter. Reality is comparable to a three-dimensional room which we can observe under three different aspects. In the first we see the connection of the factual relation, in the second the evolution (development) in time, in the third the arrangement and classification in space. As long as we renounce an observation from this third aspect, reality is two dimensional and we cannot realize it to its full extent and multiplicity..."

TEACHER CORPS OFFERS SECOND CAREER

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Labor-HEW appropriations bill is now before the conference committee. I was pleased that the Senate adopted an amendment to the bill which appropriated \$31.2 million for the Teacher Corps and I hope the conference committee can fund this program at a level of at least \$24,600,000.

A recent article in the Washington Evening Star of Tuesday, September 24, pointed again to the value of the Teacher Corps. For the information of my colleagues I include this article at this point in my remarks:

YEARS TO ENJOY: TEACHING OFFERS SECOND CAREER

(By Theodor Schuchat)

"I have been waiting for you to discuss re-training for the elderly who want a change in occupation and who are not ready for retirement," a New Jersey reader wrote recently.

"Where, for instance, could a person aged 58 in real good physical health, with a good education beyond the master's degree, and who wants to leave teaching for some other type of work, go for counseling and re-training?"

My advice to this reader is to seek professional vocational counseling from an executive recruiting firm. Though he wants to leave the classroom, many other older people are trying to get teaching jobs as a "second career."

In Miami, a judge, retired after 16 years on the bench, wanted to do something to prevent poverty's ills rather than facing them in his courtroom. He joined the Teacher Corps.

Teacher Corps experience with older teacher-interns has been good. In Houston, second careerists last year included a Cuban petroleum engineer who fled the Castro revolution and a missionary who had served in the interior of Mexico, as well as a lieutenant colonel who has retired after 25 years in the Army.

The Corps is an effort to bring new blood into the educational system. Newcomers work with experienced teachers, learn as they teach and receive beginners' salaries.

Two years ago, Willis Wellmon was a promotional tobacco salesman. This fall he will be the principal of a school.

The school, in the small town of Cashiers, enrolls only 80 students. Still, Wellmon will supervise three teachers and he himself will teach the eighth grade in all subjects.

Wellmon has been able to make the changeover from a purely commercial career to one that he finds far more exciting, thanks to the Teacher Corps.

The corps accepted Wellmon as one of five students working together under an experienced teacher. The team spends half the day studying at Western Carolina University and the other half teaching in the Jackson County school system.

Mornings, he got up an hour early in order to serve oatmeal to those children who came to school without breakfast. After two years of study, teaching, and community work, Wellmon graduated last spring into his second career.

How did Wellmon, a salesman with two children, manage to develop a new life for himself?

To begin with, the corps pays about \$3,800 a year to recent graduates and to some carefully selected persons like Wellmon who are enthusiastic about teaching as a second career. In addition, Wellmon had a small income, about \$50 a month, to help tide him over. And, of course, he was willing to sacrifice a little to do something that "made him feel good."

William A. Denny finds the atmosphere of the Teacher Corps a "lot more hopeful" than that of his former position as minister of a suburban Presbyterian congregation in Council Bluffs, Neb.

Denny was in pre-service training this summer at the University of Nebraska in Omaha. He found the teacher interns who were studying and teaching with him very stimulating, and he thinks it's encouraging that young people are "interested in helping others and in using their best talents to do so."

After two years, Denny will teach in the urban slums of Council Bluffs, Iowa. His wife helps family finances by working as a first-grade teacher.

Denny seldom feels old alongside the students of 22 to 25. When the subject of age arose recently and Denny was about to refer to his own disparagingly, one of his classmates remarked, "No you are not old; you are one of us."

For further information, write to the Teacher Corps, Washington 20202.

CRIME, ONE OF THE GREATEST PROBLEMS FACING OUR NATION

HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt that the problem of dealing with crime and planned law violation constitutes the greatest, or one of the greatest problems facing our Nation. As never before we need to teach and show respect for law and order. Respect for law means respect for the officer on the streets risking his life to protect innocent people from hoodlums and criminals.

I was much disappointed in the TV news media and other news media who quickly condemned the mayor and law enforcement officers in Chicago because they took forceful action to stop an illegal mob who desired to disrupt the convention and embarrass our Nation in the eyes of the world. Obviously, they presented only one side of the story and gave a biased picture.

The following articles, one an editorial by Curtis Russ in the Waynesville Mountaineer, entitled "Newsmen Must Cooperate or Assume Blame," one by Andrew Tully, entitled "The Big Issue Is Crime," and the other by Betty Beale, entitled "Washington Newshen Defends Chicago Cops," deserve the attention of my colleagues and the American people in general.

[From the Waynesville Mountaineer, Sept. 9, 1968]

NEWSMEN MUST COOPERATE OR ASSUME BLAME

One of the more disturbing aspects of the Democratic National Convention was the unbridled eagerness of television commentators to use the event as a vehicle for their self-righteous condemnation of police officers and

others charged with the responsibility of keeping order both at and near convention hall, and in other public areas of Chicago as well.

Time and time again, the commentators cried or implied "police brutality." One must hope that the public was not deceived by such hysterical arrogance and pious hypocrisy on the part of men who call themselves "news reporters." It needs to be said, and it needs to be understood, that the Chicago police did an incredible job under the most frustrating of circumstances. Moreover, the security forces inside convention hall deserve to be commended instead of condemned for the manner in which they performed their duty.

The public has been subjected to a steady stream of tearful accounts of how various reporters were cracked across the head by police during efforts to disperse mobs of dirty, smelly hippies threatening to take over the city. Police were bitterly condemned by representatives of television networks, at least one leftwing news magazine, and several newspapers. Inflammatory accusations against the police were published and broadcast, including quotes attributed to some officers that were too absurd to be believed. It was one-sided all the way, with never an acknowledgement that the reporters had forced their way into situations where they did not belong. Anyone who has watched a performance by arrogant, self-important reporters in time of crisis is bound to contemplate that they asked for the cracked skulls that some of them got.

Inside convention hall, it was the same story. On Tuesday evening, the convention chairman was pounding the gavel in repeated demands that the aisles be cleared and that order be restored when the Georgia delegation decided to walk out. A CBS reporter decided, of course, that this did not apply to him. He had already aired several interviews with members of the Georgia delegation; there was nothing else short of harassment that could be reported. But the CBS man rudely persisted, and with his paraphernalia deliberately continued to help clog and block an exit. When he would not move voluntarily, he was moved forcibly. Quickly he and Walter Cronkite donned their cloaks of martyrdom, and there was a pious tirade about "brutality."

This is not news reporting. It is dangerous nonsense. Somewhere along the line reporters must learn—or be taught—that they are not privileged characters. Their kind of conduct in recent years has brought the entire profession into disrepute. For too long it has been a journalistic fad to "make" news instead of reporting it. The civil disorders throughout the country have too often been inflated and exaggerated—and, say it like it is: distorted—by newsmen who have wantonly tossed aside their professional integrity.

While we are at it, it needs to be said that the emotional atmosphere hovering over Chicago during the Democratic Convention was in large measure a creation of the news media. The newspapers, television and radio can take credit for the building of threatening, demanding, volatile pressure groups which have been puffed into undeserved importance by an endless and inordinate amount of publicity. The irrelevant and often treasonous mouthings of trouble-seeking hippies and loud-mouthed agitators have been circulated around the world to such a degree that America's image has been twisted beyond recognition.

What it amounts to is contrived anarchy—a fateful season when the irrational, the irreverent and the irresponsible are taking over. The nation's police stand between society and disaster—at the very time that society is being deluged by the news media with phony charges of "police brutality."

With rare exception, the police in Chicago

and elsewhere are doing what they are paid to do—and that society, whether it fully realizes it or not, had better pray that law enforcement officers will continue to do.

If newsmen—or men who call themselves newsmen—want to continue to help provoke and encourage violence, and project themselves into disorder, we suppose they cannot be stopped. But when they suffer a cracked skull as a result of their own presumptuous conduct, they have no one to blame but themselves. They will be getting what they deserve—WRAL-RV Viewpoint, Jesse Helms.

THE BIG ISSUE IS CRIME

(By Andrew Tully)

WASHINGTON.—That FBI crime report revealing that serious crime in 1967 showed a whopping 16 per cent increase over 1966 has prompted some of the amateur psychologists in journalistic circles to holler that they told us so, and when is America going to do something about the poor in the big-city ghettos?

I trust government will move a lot faster in this direction than heretofore, because the plight of the ghetto dwellers is an outrage in an affluent society. But the FBI report rejects the fashionable notion that crime is primarily a product of the deprivation suffered by these poor families.

In the first place, the FBI noted that what it calls "trends" in serious crime were a problem in all areas, although less so in rural districts. Most revealing is that crime in the suburban communities rose by the same 16 per cent as the national average. The increase in the big cities was only slightly higher—17 per cent.

How do our amateur psychologists figure this one? In suburban areas, the residents are mostly white and their children go to good schools, staffed by good teachers. They live in decent housing. Nobody goes hungry except those wretched individuals on reducing diets. Yet our suburban youth are committing serious crimes at a rate 16 per cent higher than in 1966—and the adjusted rate for 1968 is still higher.

I suspect the answer to this was found in Chicago during the Democratic convention. There was a hard core of trained nihilists in those mobs that made the city a shambles, but the majority was composed of kids who had been reared on healthy food excellent schooling and generous allowances. They came from colleges where only the exceptionally bright—or exceptionally athletic—get a free ride. They were the product of a philosophy of permissiveness on the part of their comfortably off parents, further nurtured by schoolmasters who encouraged them to take a good run in the yard.

The conduct of these mobs and the filth that spewed from their mouths, plus the FBI figures on suburban crime, emphasize again that law and order will be the No. 1 issue of the campaign. The Democrats' battle over the Vietnam plank was spectacular evidence of the division within the party, and undoubtedly will hurt Hubert Humphrey's chances in November. But Vietnam is not next door. Crime and violence are daily visitors to Main Street.

Dick Nixon, who knows an issue when he sees one, has made it plain he will hammer hard at the law-and-order theme. He also can be expected to make capital of the randid happenings in Chicago to suggest to the voters that if the Democratic party cannot bring order to its own deliberations, it can scarcely be expected to bring order to the nation.

Humphrey already has acknowledged the problem in the increasing toughness of his stand on crime and mob violence. To the consternation of the farout liberals, he has even defended Chicago's Mayor Dick Daley for "trying to protect lives" during the Democratic bloodletting. Like Nixon, Humphrey

is a political animal, and he lost no time in rejecting the Gene McCarthy viewpoint that the mobs were composed of good, wholesome Wheaties eaters who merely wanted to "participate."

The Vice President, I expect, was echoing the thoughts of millions when he deposed that the "obscenity, profanity and filth uttered night after night in front of the hotels was the kind of talk you'd put anybody in jail for."

I expect, also, that doting parents who reared their youngsters on ol' Doc Spock's theory that kids should be permitted to go on their own destructive way now may be having some second thoughts. They could be wondering whether their monthly checks have financed a generation of monsters whose greatest need is a session in the woodshed followed by a dose of Emily Post.

WASHINGTON NEWSMEN DEFENDS CHICAGO COPS

(By Betty Beale)

WASHINGTON.—A week ago this columnist returned from Chicago, unbloodied, unpelted and even unbruised, thanks to the Chicago police.

It is time one member of the media gave the other side of the picture because the public has the right to know.

Never has a law-enforcing group been more sorely tried. They received both bodily injury and unspeakably vile treatment from the hippies in Grant Park. Yet never at any time did I see policemen show more courtesy than the police of Chicago. Courtesy, of course, is only due people who show some courtesy themselves.

And despite the difficult circumstances in which they had to maintain order they managed to prevent a fatal catastrophe.

We heard the word "over-reacted" used a lot by commentators last week and by busy politicians who were assuming that what they had been told was correct.

But if there was ever an over-reaction to any fact of life during those seven days in Chicago, it was the over-reaction of the media to any effort whatsoever to stop the hippies from the most flagrant civil disorders and disgusting disturbances of the peace.

Every time a newsmen was hurt, the screams of protest went around the world, but how much was said about the newsmen who taunted the police or tried to get action for the TV cameras? A member of the Vice President's coterie heard two reporters having a great laugh in the Coffee Shop of the Conrad Hilton about how they agitated in Grant Park until the police started pushing them around.

Wyoming Sen. and Mrs. Gale McGee and their two grown children walked over to the park to see for themselves what was going on and they arrived when the changing of the National Guard troops was taking place.

Walking through a gang of hippies they saw two girls, one playing the flute. Then they saw a TV camera team lead the girls over to the exact place by the troops where they wanted them to stand. And when their camera started to roll, the girls cried, "Don't beat me! Don't beat me!" It takes no imagination, to figure how this contrived scene would look on the screens in millions of American homes.

In the convention hall Mrs. McGee said a youth of about 15 sat in front of them and clapped hard at everything said that he liked, and shouted four-letter words at everything he didn't like. Instead of just grabbing him and removing him, as the police would have done in most civilized places, the Chicago police asked him first to stop it. But he paid no attention to them so "they had to take him out," said Mrs. McGee.

The cameras probably caught the big policeman bodily forcing the mere youth to leave, giving the television viewer the idea he had nothing to provoke such reaction.

And what, by the way, has happened to the news media that provocation is left out of, or played down in, story after story? Most announcements or headlines told what the police did to the hippies but left out or skimmed over what the hippies did to the public or police.

Sen. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, World War hero and Democratic keynoter, said the hippies were throwing paper bags of human excrement at the police and guards in Grant Park. They were also throwing broken beer bottles and rubber balls stuck with long nails aimed for the eyes.

How would those commentators who thought the police "overreacted" have behaved if those things had happened to them?

For three straight minutes late Tuesday night, or rather early Wednesday morning, an estimated 3,000 hippies shouted in unison, directed by a leader, an obscene curse at the President of the United States. They were either cursing the police in the same way or calling them pigs. And I used to think that insulting an officer was against the law!

Why was an electronic amplifier allowed to remain in the park all day and night where obscenities were shouted until 4 a.m.? I asked a police officer. There was a city ordinance against such use, he said, but if they arrested those using it they would only be fined and somebody might be killed in the process. If this wasn't under-reacting, what is?

Mayor Daley was constantly referred to on the air in slurring accents as the boss of Chicago. He may be, and he is responsible, no doubt, for some bad as well as some good. But Chicago is only one city.

Two famous TV commentators were bossing the presentation of slanted news that affected the minds of millions of Americans in hundreds of cities. As Liz Carpenter said at a women's luncheon during the convention, in all the talk of brutality there had not been "one word about the TV network brutality—the commentator clubbing" of the mayor.

When the mayor fails to do what the majority of the people in Chicago want they can at least vote him out. But no vote can stop the bossism of the airwaves where editorializing has been substituted again and again for straight reporting. One NBC commentator virtually campaigned for Teddy Kennedy throughout Tuesday evening.

It the past I have been proud to be a member of the Fourth Estate, but after this past week I feel a burning inward shame. In my mind freedom of the press has always been necessary to liberty. The Bible states it most beautifully: "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

But how much truth, and how much biased opinion are the people, and especially the youth of America getting?

A clean, well-combed, pretty young girl for Sen. McCarthy was one of five of us who shared a taxi to O'Hare Airport Friday and the conversation turned to what the hippies had done to convert the serious business of nominating a presidential candidate into a circus of vulgarity.

Unbelievably, she stood up for the right of the Grant Park crowd to curse the President. She had no respect for the highest officer of our land.

When one of the passengers blamed a man who was leading the youth to such actions, she said he was all right; he was a friend of hers.

Why had he come to Chicago, what did he want to do, I asked?

"Destroy the government," she replied calmly. That this was treason didn't bother her.

I am not familiar with the man's record so I do not know if that is his avowed aim. also I do not know if that is his avowed aim. ported him and his undertaking indicated

that the truth had not reached her as it is not reaching millions of young people.

Maybe the media had better ask itself why. Because of the fearful climate in America nothing very funny happened at either convention. Most amusing thing at the GOP Convention to Justice Abe Fortas was the sight of multimillionaire former Ambassador to Great Britain Jock Whitney and his lawyer partner Walter Thayer taking part in the hoopla of the Rockefeller demonstration the night Rocky was nominated. He recognized them on TV although neither was identified.

NORTH AMERICAN ROCKWELL HIRES THE UNEMPLOYABLES

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most encouraging developments of 1968 is the emergence of a new and growing dimension of business responsibility in the area of training the hard-core unemployed. Experience has demonstrated the success of the private sector in efficiently and effectively training the unskilled for valuable and productive employment. Increasingly aware of the importance of their role in tackling the social ills which blight this Nation, private industry is initiating work training programs designed to prepare the unemployed for meaningful jobs which offer good wages.

North American Rockwell Corp. has made a step in this direction with the formal opening of Nartrans, a subsidiary company designed to hire and train those individuals previously considered as unemployable. Forty percent of the people employed at Nartrans have arrest records and 15 percent speak little or no English. The work force is divided about evenly between Negroes and Mexican-Americans. Mr. Robinson, general manager of the new company, points out that police records which usually hamper employment in aerospace industries will not necessarily bar employment at Nartrans. Once employees attain a minimum skill level, they may transfer to better jobs at other North American companies, remain at Nartrans, or leave to join other organizations.

In praise of the initiative and involvement of North American I offer the corporation's statement describing its job training program for inclusion in the RECORD:

EL SEGUNDO, CALIF., July 16, 1968.—The formal opening of Nartrans, a new subsidiary of North American Rockwell Corp. to hire the so-called "hard-core" unemployed, took place today when top company executives welcomed an initial work force of 125 production employees to the plant site at 531 Mateo St. in Central Los Angeles.

Nartrans employment is expected to increase to 175 by August, and the subsidiary plans to hire an additional 225 persons during the next 12 months.

Employees, drawn from people normally considered unemployable by industry, will perform machine shop operations, drafting, typing and key punching, and will produce plastic bags, shipping pallets and crates.

President of the new company is Elmer P. Wohl, vice-president-Administration, for

North American Rockwell's Aerospace and Systems Group, and the general manager is Robert C. Robinson, a space engineer who worked on the Saturn V launch vehicle, and a former U.S. Army pilot.

Work performed at Nartrans will be contracted from North American Rockwell's five Southern California divisions. When employees reach a minimum level of skill, they can move to better jobs at these divisions, remain at Nartrans, or go to other companies.

In addition to on-the-job training, employees will be offered remedial training in such things as reading, arithmetic, and office practices. They will be hired initially through the Concentrated Employment Program of the California State Employment Service. Starting wages are \$2 an hour with maximum rates set at \$2.35 to \$2.50 per hour.

Robinson, who heads a group of 65 staff employees, explained hiring procedures and detailed operations of the new facility. He pointed out that police records, which normally make it difficult for an individual to get a job in aerospace, will not necessarily bar employment at Nartrans. Fringe benefits, in addition to two-week paid vacations and nine paid holidays, include paid bus transportation for the first three weeks of employment, free eye glasses, and a contributory group insurance program.

North American Rockwell provides the building and equipment for the new operation and pays the cost of administration and materials used. A part of the cost of counseling, testing, training and supportive education will be paid through the U.S. Department of Labor under its MA-2 program. The company will receive no profit on the contract. The estimated annual operating costs of Nartrans is slightly more than \$2 million.

ANOTHER AIDE IN TROUBLE

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, a former White House counsel to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, Myer "Mike" Feldman, is in trouble with the Internal Revenue Service. That agency says Feldman owes the Government more than \$100,000 in unpaid Federal taxes and civil fraud penalties.

It is interesting to note that while employed as counsel for the U.S. Senate Banking and Currency Committee and as an assistant to the then Senator John F. Kennedy, Feldman was a stockholder in radio stations in California, Pennsylvania, Oregon, and Oklahoma.

Further details of the Feldman case are set forth in an article written by Mr. Clark Mollenhoff and published in the Des Moines Register and Tribune. The article follows:

FORMER AIDE TO PRESIDENT IN TAX FIGHT—UNITED STATES SAYS HE OWES MORE THAN \$100,000

(By Clark Mollenhoff)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) has notified Myer (Mike) Feldman, former White House counsel to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, that he owes more than \$100,000 in unpaid federal taxes and civil fraud penalties.

Feldman told The Register that he is contesting the tax agents' claim that he willfully failed to pay the full federal income taxes over a five-year period.

Tax agents initially contended Feldman owed an additional \$123,651 in back taxes, interest and civil fraud penalties. Additional interest has accrued since that first determination of alleged deficiency.

HIRED LAWYER

The 51-year-old former Philadelphia lawyer said that he has hired Lipman Redman, a Washington tax lawyer, to handle the details of his protest of what he called "an unreasonable and arbitrary action" by the federal tax officials in assessing 50 per cent civil fraud penalties and other penalties.

Expense items represented an important part of the dispute. Feldman declined to discuss details but contended that tax agents had arbitrarily disallowed all expenses claimed in some periods, even a salesman's salary and expenses.

The IRS sent the Feldman tax case to the Justice Department for possible criminal prosecution by the Tax Division, but the department declined to prosecute, Feldman said.

"They decided they didn't have a case," Feldman told *The Register*.

Although he is well-acquainted with many of the top officials in the Justice Department and the IRS, Feldman said that he has made no effort to use his position as a former high official to influence the case.

"It has been handled on a straight legal basis," Feldman said. "I have had absolutely no contact with any official at any time. My lawyer has dealt only with the career people, the Civil Service employees, as far as I know."

Feldman confirmed that a substantial part of the tax dispute involves income from four radio stations in which he had an interest from 1957 to early 1961. Those stations are: KOMA, Oklahoma City, Okla.; KLAD, Klamath Falls, Ore.; KITO, San Bernardino, Calif., and WADK, Newport, R.I.

FELDMAN ANGRY

Feldman was angry that details of his long-secret tax problem had become known to some reporters. Feldman said he had been hopeful of working out a compromise of his tax difficulties with the Internal Revenue Service, but that "any publicity is almost certain to harden the views at Internal Revenue Service and make it more difficult to work out a settlement."

The failure to reach an agreement in private with tax officials would mean Feldman would be required to take his case into the United States Tax Court where all details could be subject to a public hearing.

"I have been careful to avoid any action that might be considered pressure," Feldman said. "I would probably have been more successful in getting a settlement if I had tried a little pressure."

The Feldman tax matter has been in the process of investigation and evaluation since 1963. Recommendations for criminal prosecution have been rejected by the Justice Department tax division after extensive study.

The length of the study was cause for concern by some officials who contend it was "studied to death." The long study permitted the six-year statute of limitations to expire on what was considered by some to be "the best case" for possible criminal action.

ASSISTANT TO SORENSON

A major part of the tax dispute involves the years prior to 1961 when Feldman was named by the late President John F. Kennedy as deputy special counsel in the White House.

Feldman served as an assistant to White House counsel Theodore Sorensen. When Sorensen left the White House after Kennedy's assassination elevated Lyndon Johnson to the presidency, Feldman was moved up to serve as counsel to President Johnson. He served in that capacity until his resignation in January, 1965.

The first notice of a possible federal in-

come tax deficiency was served upon him in 1964 when he was White House counsel, Feldman said. He said it "was possible" that the one visit he had with an Internal Revenue agent was at his office in the White House when they had a brief discussion of sizable business deductions ranging from \$30,000 to \$40,000.

Feldman said he declined to have further discussions with the tax agent, and from that time dealt with the IRS only through his lawyer.

Feldman said that the serious stage of his tax difficulty in late 1964 had no relationship with his resignation in January, 1965. He said that President Johnson "had no knowledge about it," and that as far as he knew no one else in the White House had any information about the controversy that had arisen over his federal income tax returns.

"I considered it a private matter, and I handled it as a private matter," Feldman said. "I had decided prior to that time that I was going to get out of government for the very good reason that I wanted to set up a law practice."

NO CONNECTION

"There was absolutely no connection between my tax matter and my decision to resign from my White House job."

Feldman said the tax dispute involves the years 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960 and 1961. He said the amount in dispute for 1961 is "no more than \$50 or so." The largest amounts of claimed tax deficiency involve the years 1957 and 1958, Feldman said, but he declined to discuss the details.

He said he believes the government's claim for civil fraud penalties only involved 1957 and 1958, but that 1959 might possibly be included.

Internal Revenue Commissioner Sheldon Cohen has declined any comment on the Feldman case, contending that dealings with Feldman and his lawyer are confidential under the internal revenue law.

Mitchell Rogovin, assistant attorney general in charge of the tax division, said he did not personally handle the decision to reject criminal prosecution. "Apparently the lawyers felt they just didn't have a case," Rogovin said.

Rogovin said he was counsel for the I.R.S. several years ago and, in that capacity, had approved sending the Feldman case to the Justice Department for study for possible prosecution. He said he did not recall the details.

Feldman received a bachelor's degree from the Wharton College of the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1938 received a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

He practiced law in Philadelphia from 1938 until 1942 when he joined the Army Air Corps. After military service he became special counsel to the chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission in 1946 and served in that capacity until 1954.

From 1955 to 1957 Feldman was counsel for the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, and in 1958 he became legislative assistant to then Senator John F. Kennedy. He was a member of Senator Kennedy's campaign team in 1961, and often accompanied him on the campaign.

REWARDED FOR WORK

In 1961, Feldman was rewarded for his work with one of the most important jobs in the White House.

Sorensen, in his book "Kennedy," paid tribute to Feldman as one of the key men in the White House in dealing with a wide range of government agencies. Sorensen wrote:

"... So I depended in the special counsel's office on Mike Feldman and Lee White to handle many agency problems and pressure groups under the direct supervision of the President. Feldman, for example, served

among other things as the channel for most business requests—on tariffs, airline routes, and subsidies, to name a few.

"If Mike ever turned dishonest, said the President one day, 'we would all go to jail.'"

It was said in jest because there was never any complaint that Feldman was other than scrupulously honest in the dealings with the federal agencies in his jurisdiction.

While employed as counsel for the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and as legislative assistant for Senator Kennedy, Feldman was dabbling in a number of outside business operations, including at least four radio stations. He was one of four partners in Radio Associates, Inc., which owned station KITO in California. Feldman held a 35 per cent interest in Key Stations of Drexel Hill, Pa., which owned station WADK in Newport.

SOLD INTERESTS

Federal Communications Commission (FCC) records show that Feldman was one of five stockholders in station KLAD in Klamath Falls, Ore., and held 35 per cent of the stock. The FCC records show that Feldman held a 15 per cent interest in KOMA in Oklahoma City.

He sold his interests in radio stations in 1960 and in January, 1961, prior to taking the White House job that could have entailed some dealings with the FCC.

Since leaving government, Feldman has been practicing law in the firm of Ginsburg and Feldman at 1700 Pennsylvania Ave. His plus third-floor office looks down on the Executive Office Building and the street in front of the White House.

His partner, Charles David Ginsburg, was executive director of the President's riot commission and was active in Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Feldman was an active supporter of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy for the Democratic presidential nomination prior to his assassination in June but has not been active on behalf of any other candidates up to this point.

REPORT TO THE PEOPLE

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as the second session of the 90th Congress draws to a close, and at the end of my second year representing the people of the 10th Congressional District of the State of Florida, I feel it is important that I give an accounting of my activities to those whom I am privileged to serve—the people.

For this reason you will find in this report, which is being mailed to residents of the 10th Congressional District, a review of my service, my voting record on the major bills, my successes and defeats on legislation, and other matters which I believe are important to those I have represented here in the 90th Congress:

AN HONOR TO SERVE YOU

First, let me say that it is an honor and inspiration for me to have the opportunity to serve you in Congress. We live in troubled times, but despite the trouble, riots and the disorders, it is my opinion that we are not a sick society as some would like us to believe. The majority of us Americans are concerned for the general welfare of our citizens and are desirous of peace—not peace by

capitulation or appeasement—but peace of a nature that will bring dignity, honor and respect to those in our Armed Services who have made the supreme sacrifice for their country, as well as those who still stand ready in defense of our country and dedicated to keep America strong and free.

It is my opinion that our country today is very much alive; that we Americans are valiant, strong, forward looking, and benevolent. I am confident that with God's help we will meet our challenges head on, and we will fulfill the American promise of freedom—in a nation dedicated to Thanksgiving for the abundance that God has given to us as free Americans.

VICTORIES

I am happy that a number of bills which I introduced or co-sponsored were enacted into law. These were bills which makes it a crime to desecrate our flag, creates a new House Ethics Committee, provides compensation for police killed or injured while on federal duty, increases pay for postal employees, clamps down on imports which harm American work forces and businesses, provides across the board increases to social security recipients, allows tax credits to businesses which train the unskilled, instructs Federal authorities to arrest persons crossing state lines to incite riots.

A LOSS FOR ALL

I considered it a great loss to the American taxpayer when the 10 percent surtax was signed into law. I opposed the tax increase and urged the administration to cut expenditures as a means to help the wage earner by cubing inflation. I fear that the promised cuts of federal spending will not materialize.

I consider this a most unfortunate tax, especially when the administration pushed the tax hike through Congress and failed to consider a proposal which I supported that would have doubled personal income tax exemptions from \$600 to \$1,200.

CONGRESSMAN J. HERBERT BURKE SPEAKS OUT
(I have from time to time spoken out on various subjects when I felt the issues required me to do so, for instance:)

Warned repeatedly that expenditures of huge allocations of federal funds for welfare is not the answer to combat America's social ills. Stressed need for more vocational training and job security through private enterprise.

Saved American taxpayers \$11.5 million by charging improper back door aid to enemy nations which resulted in the State Department cancelling sorghum and grain contracts with hostile Arab states.

Continuously warned against inflationary spiral which erodes the dollar's purchasing power and especially eats away fixed income.

Urged the administration to counter the rapid and powerful buildup of the Communist forces in the Mid-East and Mediterranean.

HERE TO SERVE YOU

As your Congressman, I am your personal representative and spokesman here in Washington. During the past two years, I have always solicited your views, which to me are most essential and welcome.

I have processed more than 100,000 replies to individual pieces of mail since I took office together with 9,000 individual special problem requests, some of which have been fairly routine, while others have been extremely complicated.

I have held to the view that if you have a problem or an opinion that is important enough for you to write to me about, it is important enough for me to care about and assist you if I am able to do so.

One of the most satisfying rewards for a Congressman comes in his ability to help a constituent, especially when he is able to receive a favorable decision for some deserving citizen caught in the maze of red tape

so prevalent in some of Washington's bureaucracies today.

SOME BILLS I HAVE INTRODUCED

The following are some of the bills which I introduced this session. They are pending in various House Committees. These bills would:

H.J. Res. 970—Propose a Constitutional Amendment to bar subversives from working in defense plants.

H. Res. 1268—Urge the administration to sell phantom jet fighters to Israel and give Israel further military aid as needed.

H. Res. 609—Call for hearings on Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

H.R. 19142—Permit the Southern District Federal Court to hold sessions in Ft. Lauderdale.

H.J. Res. 435—Allow states to handle their own educational system.

H.R. 13413—Provide for humane treatment of animals in research facilities.

H.R. 14540—Provide assistance to industries and businesses to pay partial salaries in training the unskilled.

H.R. 17717—Equalize pay of retired members of uniformed services.

H.R. 18982—Strengthen the law prohibiting the movement of switch blade knives in interstate commerce.

H.R. 8178—Allows social security recipients to earn unlimited outside income.

H.R. 10374—Make unlawful use of credit card a federal crime.

H. Con. Res. 402—Express a sense of Congress to keep American rights in Panama Canal.

H.R. 13414—Provide aid to train more nurses.

BURKE REPORT CARD

(Votes on recent key issues from the 90th Congress):

Truth in lending, for.

Bar trade to Reds under Export-Import Bank, for.

Remove gold cover backing of American currency, against.

Travel tax on overseas travel, against.

Increase GI and Veterans benefits, for.

10 percent surtax on all income, against.

Omnibus anti-crime bill, for.

Clean meat act, for.

Outback gigantic farm subsidies, for.

Increase rent supplement, multi-million dollar federal housing, against.

Drug abuse act to curb flow of LSD, other hallucinatory drugs, for.

Foreign aid, against.

Expand vocational education, for.

Deny federal aid to college students involved in riots, for.

Increase social security benefits, for.

Head start program, for.

Strengthen U.S. defenses, for.

Higher education act, for.

LOS ANGELES LAW ENFORCEMENT HAMPERED BY LACK OF RADIO FREQUENCIES

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, we in the Congress have attempted to help State and local governments contend with large-scale civil disturbances by passing legislation which will help to better train and equip our police to cope with such emergencies. We have also enacted legislation in an attempt to help protect local firemen whose lives are threatened twice—once by the fires they

must fight and at the same time by the rioters who would rather see our cities burn to the ground.

Yet, more and better equipped and trained policemen and firemen are not the total answer to preventing an outburst from becoming a full-blown riot. From my service on the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, I found that one of the most widespread misconceptions was the belief that the only way to stop a disorder was to use immediate and violent force. Yet, all the evidence which we considered, not to mention simple humaneness, indicates that what is needed is to get enough policemen on the scene quickly enough so that little or no force will have to be used. The immediate display of the potential for maintaining order is the critical factor in efforts to maintain order.

The key to displaying this potential lies in the ability of our public safety forces to quickly converge upon an explosive situation and coordinate their efforts once they arrive. If this is to be accomplished, it will be because they have the capacity to effectively use two-way radios in such emergencies. Unfortunately, our police did not have that capacity during the Watts riot of 1965, nor during the disturbances of 1966, nor during the disastrous summer of 1967, and they do not have it today. As a member of the House Subcommittee on Regulatory Agencies, I have heard and read the testimony of many of the chiefs of police who had to cope with civil disorders in their cities last summer, and they have consistently and emphatically told me that the Federal Communications Commission has failed to give them enough radio channels to do their job effectively. Consequently, when a disturbance breaks out, their radio equipment becomes so overloaded that it often becomes useless at the very moment it is needed most.

I have listened to a tape recording of the police radio dispatches during a riot. Two things are significant about it. First, the stream of messages is virtually continuous—with no breaks or pauses. As the chief of police told me:

We couldn't put another message in there if we had to.

Second, the tape is a monolog of the radio dispatcher at central headquarters. There were so many messages to go out from headquarters over the few channels available that police cars and men with radios could not call headquarters. If a policeman on the beat was in trouble and needed assistance, he could not use his two-way police radio to call for help. As was stated at the recent Los Angeles hearings:

That is how two-way radio gets transformed into one-way radio by overloading.

When the necessity is greatest to quickly move men to the scene of an emergency and continually coordinate their activities once they arrive, policemen cannot reach headquarters with valuable information on how the situation is developing and in turn headquarters is often unable to reach each man with instructions as to where he is needed most.

There are simply too many messages which must go out over the same channel, and it is as if a whole city block were on the same telephone party line and everyone was trying to call out at the same time.

Obviously the answer to this situation is not simply more policemen, nor is it simply better training and equipment. For even if there were an adequate number of specially trained and equipped officers to meet any situation, too few radio channels would prohibit police chiefs in most American cities from adequately deploying these additional men.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders recognized the severity of the situation, and we recommended, in our report "that the Federal Communications Commission make sufficient frequencies available to police and related public safety services to meet the demonstrated need for riot control and other emergency use." The FCC responded, not by allocating more of the radio spectrum to the public safety services, but by "splitting" the channels they already held. What this means is that existing two-way radio equipment must be modified at great expense so as to permit more radios to operate in the same amount of spectrum space. It is as you made a two-lane highway into a three-lane highway, not by widening it, but by narrowing the two lanes until you could squeeze in a third one. The result would be that the highway could carry a limited amount of additional traffic, but, of course, there would also be many more accidents. In two-way radios, such "accidents" cause interference and interference means delay in getting the message through.

Obviously, a few seconds delay in directing operations when fire victims are trapped or an airliner is making an emergency landing could be disastrous. Chief Nielson of the Los Angeles Fire Department told the subcommittee that—

During the Watts Riots, one hundred ten companies were being controlled by radio communications at the same time. The air was completely saturated and a large percent of the messages were unintelligible or never did get through.

Unless this problem is solved, all of the efforts of the Congress this year to aid our public safety forces will be to no avail.

While this problem is intolerably worse during times of crisis, it has plagued our public safety services for years and our subcommittee's hearings prove that it continues to plague them in their everyday operations. The burgeoning suburban areas surrounding our cities, our expanding population, the mounting crime wave across the Nation, all portend the need for more police, more firemen, and more of all the others who make up the public safety services. In addition, there is the need for a better technology to enable the public services to cope with these problems, and in part, that technology is here. We could today equip every policeman with a miniature, hand-carried radio which would permit him to constantly keep in touch with, and be instructed by, his base headquarters. The President's Crime Com-

mission, as well as the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, recommended their immediate, widespread use. But police do not presently have sufficient channels for the radios they do have, and they could never handle all these additional miniradios. Clearly this will require that more of the radio spectrum be allocated to the public services.

Modern technology also makes it economically feasible to patrol an entire city from the air by using helicopters. In Lakewood, Calif., where this has been done on an experimental basis, Deputy Sheriff John Knox termed the results a "tremendous success." He stated that the crime rate went down in Lakewood, while in the surrounding areas it went up. But this too requires an expanded communications capability and presently that capability has been expanded to the bursting point.

This is why the President's Crime Commission recommended in its report that—

The FCC should develop plans for allocating portions of the TV spectrum to police use.

The problem is that the FCC has allocated only 1 percent of the radio spectrum to be used for public safety while commercial television—which often seems to be more "commercial" than "television"—has been allocating about 52 percent of the spectrum. Ironically, the greater portion of that 52 percent remains unused by television and unavailable to police, fire, and other emergency services who desperately need it because of the policies of the Federal Communications Commission. It is deplorable that such a situation could have been allowed to develop, and it is inexcusable that it should be allowed to continue, when the tragedies in our cities have pointed so clearly to the need for action, when our public safety officials have been pleading for help, and when two Presidential Commissions have recommended a specific course of action.

Of course, simply protecting lives and property is not enough. The roots of the civil disturbances in our cities run deep. At their base is unemployment, poor housing, inadequate educational and recreational facilities, poorly administered city services, and in general, a growing dissatisfaction with the kind of life to be found in our cities. Private businessmen who would help to provide the unemployed with jobs, building contractors helping to rebuild our cities, and many others who attempt to provide needed goods and services as widely and as cheaply as possible, all rely upon the use of two-way radio in the daily performance of their work. It is these people who provide the economic and social climate in which our cities function. If this climate is viable and healthy, those who live in the city will not be likely to be dissatisfied.

In addition, the use of two-way radio by local governments is not limited to emergency users. To efficiently control traffic, maintain streets, parks, and lights, inspect housing, pick up and dispose of garbage, operate school busses, and a host of other services, city administrators are growing increasingly dependent upon two-way radio to help

them get the job done at the least cost. Not only does radio communications promote better service, but it saves tax dollars.

I shall have more to say about this in the days to come. But it is becoming increasingly clear that the Congress alone cannot provide all of the answers to our problems in the cities. The Federal Communications Commission also has a role to play, and it is now time for them to fulfill their responsibility.

A TRAGIC CUT IN THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the deep slash in the funds for the Alliance for Progress, approved by the House a few days ago, can have very serious, even tragic, consequences.

During the past 7 years we have forged a new partnership with our sister republics of the Western Hemisphere—a partnership dedicated to nothing short of a wholesale peaceful revolution in the economic and social domain.

Built on the principle of self-help, this partnership, embodied in the Alliance for Progress, is one of the keystones of our future well-being and security in a rapidly changing, dangerous world.

We had pledged to contribute up to \$1 billion a year in private and public investment to Alliance undertakings. This sum, as large as it is, accounts for only a small fragment—less than 10 percent—of the total new investment in Alliance projects and programs during the last 7 years.

We are going back on that pledge this year. Unless the Senate changes the outcome of this matter, fiscal 1969 Alliance loan funds will be slashed from \$625 million to \$270 million.

Mr. Speaker, I was among the first in the House to urge a billion dollar cut in this year's aid program. I felt that such a cut was necessary at a time when extraordinary demands are being made of the American taxpayer, and I was delighted when the Congress went along with my proposals and reduced the foreign aid authorization by \$1 billion.

At the same time, I have cautioned against indiscriminate slashes in our foreign policy undertakings, particularly those which relate to the future well-being and security of the Western Hemisphere. This is one area whose needs and problems we cannot afford to ignore.

The devastating effect of the proposed cut in the Alliance for Progress loan funds is described eloquently by Virginia Prewett in a column which she wrote for the Washington Daily News.

Miss Prewett is a very perceptive and knowledgeable observer of the Latin American scene, and her comments regarding the affect of the cuts that I described merit thoughtful consideration of every Member of Congress. While I must take issue with Miss Prewett's in-

dictment of the record of the 90th Congress—a record which I believe is notable for many positive accomplishments—I would like to commend her column to the attention of my colleagues.

The article is as follows:

SLASH OF AID TO LATIN WILL HURT
(By Virginia Prewett)

The deep House cut in Alliance for Progress loans funds has fallen as a heavy blow on Latin America.

"It could not come at a worse time, or have a worse effect," is the way the U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States, Sol. M. Linowitz, sums up.

If not repaired by Senate action in the present Congress or by the next Congress in January, the cuts in fiscal 1968's Alliance loan fund from \$625 million to \$420 million, and finally to \$270 million, will prove devastating to this nation's credibility in the hemisphere.

GOOD FAITH

A \$150 million or even a \$355 million cut in Alliance loan funds may not irretrievably sink Latin America. But it may sink this country's good faith with Latin Americans—and for an infinitesimal fraction of our national wealth that we would lend out at interest.

The Alliance cut could not come at a worse time for the following reasons:

Latin America, after a painful period of readjustment and tooling up, has in the last year or two made basic reorientations that the U.S. urges as a spur to hemisphere development. Acceptance of the long, hard and difficult task of creating a Latin American Common Market is one example.

Latin America is going through a time of extreme uncertainty because of the increasing tendency among the industrialized countries where our neighbors sell their exports to close doors against those exports. This includes the U.S., where the tendency is strong.

Latin America in very recent weeks has been shocked throughout by the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

For years, our country has been in competition with Russian ideology and with a two-pronged communist penetration attempt in Latin America. Latin American governments were already alert to Castro's overt subversion out of Cuba. But many Latin Americans have tended to distinguish sharply between Castro and an image of Russia as an essentially peace-loving nation basically interested only in trade expansion among smaller nations.

OPPORTUNITY

The rape of Czechoslovakia rudely jolted many Latin Americans. Never in recent decades has the United States had a better opportunity to consolidate its political defense and economic relations in the New World.

Then along came a Know-Nothing House of Representatives to slaughter the aid program that our entire government—including the House—has spent years building up as a symbol of friendship and good intentions in the hemisphere.

A great nation cannot behave this capriciously to its allies and not suffer for it.

**AMERICAN CAMPUSES: STAGING
GROUND FOR VIOLENCE**

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Glenn S. Dumke, chancellor of Califor-

nia's State college system has predicted what many of us have feared for some time: "That this coming school year is going to be a year of even more widespread attempts at turbulence."

Dr. Dumke noted that this year, however, administrators of institutions of higher education are "combat ready." Unfortunately this is the case. They are not only "combat ready," far too many of them are combat trained and some have had a baptism by fire in the not-too-distant past. And all this to the detriment of the silent majority of students and faculty who are bent on gaining an education rather than creating turbulence. Combat conditions are certainly not conducive to the learning process and our institutions of higher education should not have to function on an alert status.

Dr. Dumke also predicts that unless administrators begin treating their problems—specifically the problems created by a fanatical fringe—the freedom which is so often the flouted excuse for campus anarchy will be the first target of external controls.

An excellent example of failure in this area is the recent decision to permit Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver to lecture at Berkeley. There can and should be ample room for exploration, discussion, and a free flow of valid ideas within the limits of responsibility and decency, but Cleaver violates even the most generous standards of both responsibility and decency.

Our colleges and universities have too frequently become staging areas for anarchy rather than staging areas for responsibility. A great deal is at stake, not the least of which is the freedom of the silent majority.

In addition, as Dr. Dumke stated:

If the college ends its objectivity by becoming a participant or protagonist, then society will be left without any institution which is given the job of confronting social problems without partisanship, in a true scholarly and objective manner. If the colleges abdicate this responsibility for the sake of being partisans, society will be in a bad way.

American colleges are faced with a major challenge and if they do not face it and meet it themselves, others must and will.

Two editorials in the September 22 edition of the Chicago Tribune elaborate on both the remarks of Dr. Dumke and the incredible acceptance into the academic community of Eldridge Cleaver:

THE UNIVERSITIES—"COMBAT-READY"

With the advent of a new academic year, the chancellor of California's vast state college system warns in a copyrighted interview with U.S. News & World Report that the campuses may expect "even more widespread attempts at turbulence" than have been witnessed in previous years. We have already been given a taste of things to come in the black vandalism in the Union building at the University of Illinois in Urbana and in the bellicose activities by student revolutionaries against the harassed administration of Columbia university in New York.

The California chancellor, Dr. Glenn S. Dumke, held out the hope that universities and colleges by now should have learned something from experience. "We're 'combat-ready,'" he told U.S. News.

We believe that the most important thing Dr. Dumke forecasts is that, if means of containing these revolutionary uprisings are not soon devised, the universities, their faculties, and the great "silent majority" of students and faculty alike are going to suffer, and that the institutions of higher education will be the less in future days.

He says that if faculties don't come up with the answer, and soon, "an answer will come—either from an outraged citizenry, the state legislature, or thru administrative edict." He says that, specifically, the faculties must determine whether the campus is to be used as a staging area for violent social change and revolution, or whether it should not.

Dr. Dumke also predicts that if this problem is not answered to the satisfaction of the citizens and taxpayers, and of their legislative representatives, then society is going to restructure higher education in a way that administrations, faculty, and students will be unhappy about.

Some of the likely changes, he says, will be legislative definitions of academic freedom, legislative and fiscal restrictions on certain types of courses, and the probable reduction of public universities and colleges from places of free inquiry to a role as training centers for certain professions and vocations.

If drama schools present objectionable plays, the chancellor believes, then drama schools will run the risk of elimination. If student publications are given to public assaults on accepted standards of public decency, then there won't be any more student publications.

It seems to us that the possibility of such developments as Chancellor Dumke forecasts might be persuasive in showing even the revolutionists and nihilists on the campuses that, if they persist, they will be cutting off their noses to spite their face. Their slogans call for unrestricted freedom, but if citizens and legislators come to decide that a continuation of campus excesses is intolerable, there is bound to be a great diminution of freedom for everyone. Faculty activists should also perceive what effect that would have upon them.

Dr. Dumke thinks that unquestionably campus agitation is the product of an international network of militants, activists, and revolutionists, not all of whom are Communists, but some of whom are anarchists and nihilists. He adds, however, that the Communists are always poised and ready to move in and exploit any inflammable situation.

If free inquiry and the scholarly pursuit of truth are to survive in this country to any degree, the time has come for the "silent majority" of students and faculty to defend their heritage from the new barbarians.

THE DEATH WISH AT BERKELEY

It is incredible that the board of regents of the University of California has allowed an invitation to stand which will bring Eldridge Cleaver to the Berkeley campus to lecture even once in a course called "Experimental Social Analysis." The invitation, made thru the Berkeley academic senate, was opposed by Gov. Ronald Reagan and Speaker Jesse Unruh of the California Assembly. Tho their fellow regents cut the number of Cleaver's appearances [and of any other outsider in a single quarter] from a proposed 10 to only one, a majority vote of 10 to 8 permitted Cleaver one lecture. Reagan may be forced to challenge the faculty on his own.

Cleaver is "minister of information" of the Black Panther party, a far-out black revolutionary organization. He has spent most of his adult life in prison. He was first convicted of possession of marijuana at the age of 18. In 1958 he was sentenced to 14 years on conviction of assault to kill and rape. He served

9 years. He is charged now in California on three counts of attempted murder and three counts of assault in consequence of a two-hour gun battle April 6 with Oakland police.

Despite this background, Cleaver was nominated for lecturer by a sociology student, and the faculty approved. The course was to be called "Dehumanization and Regeneration in the American Social Order," having to do with racism. Gov. Reagan and Unruh rarely see eye to eye, but they did on this. Reagan said he would not put up with even a single lecture. Unruh called the invitation evidence of a "death wish" on the part of the faculty.

What kind of stuff would Cleaver peddle from the lectern? We submit a few samples from his orations. First:

"We need a lawyer today who has a law-book in one hand and a gun in the other, so that if he goes to court and that doesn't come out right, he can pull out his gun and start shooting. I hope you people will take guns and shoot judges and police."

Again: "The pigs of the power structure say the people are impotent, that we can't control things any more, that we have to leave things to pigs like Dean Rusk or that Texas pig in the White House. As long as there are people on this earth they will always be able to take control of their own destiny and pull down the pigs of the power structure."

"They say if you want a bad example, look to China. Well, I ain't gonna look to China. I done looked to China. And I see Mao Tse-tung took up a gun, took the coolies away from the ricksha, and now he's got the hydrogen bomb. And I say that's all right. . . ."

"I am not a freak of violence. Guns are ugly. People is what's beautiful, and when you use a gun to kill a person you're doin' something ugly. But there are two forms of violence—violence to liberate yourself and violence visited on you to keep you in your place. We have to make a choice between continuing to be the victim, or decide to take our freedom."

"If you ain't part of the solution, you part of the problem, you dig? There's no more middle ground. We gonna provide a situation that's gonna force the Babylonians to deal with it."

Cleaver ended his harangue with the threat that unless he gets his way "there going to be blood on the streets of Babylon."

Yet a Berkeley professor, defending his lectureship, said of the author of this concoction of violent and ungrammatical language that Cleaver would be much "in the tradition of the 'artists in residence'" often invited to campuses. If you lean toward artists in gunmanship and revolution, you might conceivably agree.

ADDRESS BY POSTMASTER GENERAL W. MARVIN WATSON, AT THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DINNER, COMMONS RESTAURANT, NORMAN, OKLA.

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month Postmaster General W. Marvin Watson spent a very busy and eventful day in the State of Oklahoma. One of the major events of that day was a visit to Norman, Okla., and to the beautiful campus of the University of Oklahoma. The Postmaster General addressed the Norman Chamber of Commerce that evening. In his speech, he discussed some

of the problems of the Post Office Department and the progress being made in the handling of the millions of pieces of mail delivered throughout the United States each day.

Under the unanimous consent request I include the speech delivered by Postmaster General W. Marvin Watson at Norman, Okla., on September 16, 1968:

ADDRESS BY POSTMASTER GENERAL W. MARVIN WATSON AT THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DINNER, COMMONS RESTAURANT, NORMAN, OKLA.

I want to tell you how pleased I am to be with you here tonight.

That pleasure has several roots.

First, I enjoy meeting people, and having once been closely associated with the Chamber of Commerce in Texas, I particularly enjoy talking to people who speak the same language and share the same ideas.

Second, this is my fifth speech today. I began my day with a stamp unveiling ceremony up in Enid . . . at 7:30 this morning. I hope I said the right things in that speech at Enid . . . since the shock of a 7:30 speech was even more severe than I had expected.

Then I dropped down for a postal award ceremony and then a luncheon meeting and another talk in Oklahoma City. And after I said thanks to the Kiwanis Club there . . . I went back on up to Ponca City . . . inspected the post office there . . . said a few words to the employees . . . and then participated in another dedication ceremony.

After that I flew here to Norman . . . was taken on a tour of your very impressive University by Dr. Hollomon . . . enjoyed a fine reception . . . and then came over here.

So my second reason for being glad to see you is that when I look out there and see all those faces . . . I know I've somehow made it through a busy day.

I haven't had so much fun . . . since I was in the Marine Corps Boot camp . . . and my sergeant asked me gently to take the obstacle course with a full pack.

There are a few other reasons why I am pleased to be with you as well.

My good friends Senator Mike Monroney and Congressman Tom Steed originally suggested that I visit Norman . . . and see for myself that all the fine things they've told me about this city and the University were true. You know some people in Texas have the reputation of exaggerating a little bit. And Mike and Tom wanted me to know that they weren't engaging in an Oklahoma variation of the definition of a railroad tie as a Texas toothpick.

Well, I am completely convinced that their reports and the reports of my staff . . . on the quality of your university . . . are borne out by fact.

During the months I have been serving as Postmaster General . . . I have made it a policy to get away from the confines of my desk . . . to break through the chains of paper that tend to bind a man to Washington . . . and see for myself.

It is all too easy in Washington . . . to get bogged down . . . and to become a prisoner of reports . . . of documents . . . of second and third and fourth hand versions of fact.

I spent much of my adult life in the business world . . . and I learned there that correct decisions must be made on the basis of fact . . . not fancy . . . not reports.

When I worked in the steel industry . . . I made it my business to see how steel was produced.

And now I direct the nation's second largest civilian industry—for the Post Office Department ranks right behind General Motors in the number of employees.

So, in line with this policy of first hand observation . . . I have traveled 62,000 miles,

and inspected 141 postal facilities in 84 cities, 29 states, the District of Columbia, the Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico.

I have shaken hands with and exchanged views . . . with 37,500 postal employees.

Sometimes I differed with those employees . . . more often I agreed with them . . . always I learned more about this vast logistics and materials handling operation that we call the postal service.

Now I have had the opportunity to learn more about a great university. And my personal assistant, Dr. Lloyd Taylor has also been working with the University staff . . . serving as an extension of my eyes and ears . . . and I look forward to hearing a full report from him on what he has learned.

Certainly, I already have no doubt whatsoever that the University is fully capable of extending greater assistance to us in our effort to strengthen our training effort.

My friends, in the restless, ever changing world in which we live, the word "explosion" is more and more frequently used to describe current events. There is the threat of nuclear explosion, and the number of nations now holding in their hands the H-bomb has increased to five. There is the population explosion, in which nations such as India and the countries of Latin America find themselves overwhelmed, their productivity increases absorbed by ever new legions of hungry mouths. There is the violence explosion, for which our crime statistics form the fever chart.

But, from my desk in Washington, the explosion that most immediately concerns me is the "information explosion." Years back a leader of another nation threatened to bury us. Well, it often seems that we are going to bury ourselves, not with nuclear fall-out, but with piles and piles and piles of paper. This blizzard of paper is produced by the most dynamic economy in the world.

Our gross national product is about \$860 billion.

We are in the 91st month of unprecedented economic prosperity.

Our index of industrial production is about 165 per cent of what it was back in 1957 to 1959.

Personal income rose to \$689 billion a year as of last month.

We are better educated than ever before. The average number of school years completed per citizen is at an all-time high of 11.8. More Americans are going to school than ever before. And the Federal, State and local governments are pouring almost \$30 billion into education, more than twice the entire national income of Spain and 70 per cent of the entire income of Italy.

In short, the United States right now has more people earning more and learning more than at any time in its history—or the history of any nation in the world.

What does this mean for the Postal Service? Simply that we are the mirror of this affluence, this rising standard of living and learning.

For this rising standard has produced the "information explosion" with its fall-out of paper. And much of this paper is moving through the mails. The mail statistics, my friends, are almost staggering.

Back a century ago the average mail patron wrote six letters a year; now the figure is 412 a year for every man, woman and child in the country, and seems sure to reach 500. And, of course, we have over 200 million Americans compared to 36 million in 1867.

As a result right now—this year—we are moving 84 billion pieces of mail. During the last Christmas Holiday period alone the Post Office Department delivered as much mail as is handled in France all year.

How do we keep from being smothered by this deluge of mail?

How do we reduce to the absolute minimum the direct and indirect cost of mail service to our society?

The really enormous increase in mail volume places us in a new dimension. Old ways of thought, old methods simply will not cope with this problem. In fact, I would say that right now your Post Office is in its third period of development.

The first such period was when Benjamin Franklin established the United States Postal Service. This was the period of *organization*.

The second period was when President Lincoln's Postmaster General, Montgomery Blair, paved the way for the Universal Postal Union, and established free city mail delivery, the money order system, and the railway postal service. This was the period of *extension*.

The third period coincides with . . . right now . . . and can be called the period of the *postal industrial revolution*.

This revolution is not alone a matter of machines . . . though new machines we have . . . including possibly one of the most complicated and advanced machines in the world—the automatic ZIP code reader.

This revolution is not alone a matter of information gathering . . . though for the first time we have one of the greatest electronic information gathering networks in the world—providing us with a kind of radar to forecast unusual mail volumes . . . so that we can prepare for them.

This revolution is not alone a matter of research . . . though for the first time in history . . . we have an Assistant Postmaster General for Research and Engineering . . . with adequate funds and staff to search out new and better ways of solving old problems.

This revolution is not alone a matter of management . . . though we have assembled the best management team we can find . . . and are combing and searching through that old Post Office Department in an intensive drive to find better . . . and cheaper . . . ways of doing our job.

This revolution, of course, involves mechanization . . . it involves information . . . it involves research—but it involves the most basic ingredient of all—people.

During my travels around the country, I have seen for myself that we have fine postal workers . . . who possess an excellent spirit of public service.

But in a post-industrial revolution society or organization . . . spirit alone is not enough.

We need trained people.

Fortunately, I am not alone in recognizing that fact.

Both Senator Monroney and Congressman Steed have given us strong support in our effort to create a training program adequate for a Twentieth Century Post Office.

I think that their interest—their true devotion to the needs of the Post Office Department—is well known to all. But I must say again that the leadership which they provide and their understanding of our problems has made a vast difference for me as Postmaster General as it has for Postmasters General in the past and will in the future.

With their assistance, we have in the past months been reexamining our training needs and requirements. The comprehensive study on which we have embarked is very nearly complete.

I have personally been deeply involved in this, both in the planning stages and during on-site inspections as I have travelled across this country. I have looked at many locations and several are under final consideration. My inspection here at Norman—and the prior inspections of my staff—places this area in that final group.

However, we have not made the last determination and I do not expect to make it until next month. At that time I will announce the results of our study and will certainly inform Senator Monroney and Congressman Steed and Dr. Holloman of any conclusions that might affect this outstanding University.

My friends, I believe we are at the threshold of great breakthroughs in postal technology.

Those breakthroughs will carry out the mandate given me by President Johnson when he asked me to "give the American people the finest mail service it has ever known through improved management, better training and through enlisting the best brains you can find."

I want you to know . . . I want Senator Monroney and Congressman Steed to know . . . that I intend to carry out the President's mandate. And I hope that effort will involve the University of Oklahoma and the many fine people who made this visit so enjoyable and such a unique learning experience.

RAYMOND BROOKS,
NEWSPAPERMAN

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the dean of the Texas newsmen quietly slipped from our midst last week. Raymond Brooks, Austin, died Thursday afternoon at the veterans hospital in Houston.

He called himself a "blacksmith of words," and indeed he was. But he was much more. He not only was dean of the Capitol correspondents but he was also a mighty man who was quick, energetic, imaginative, extremely able—and always a busy, busy man.

I treasure my associations with him over the years as one of my prized possessions. He was my good and dear friend for 30 years. He was a seasoned and balanced newsmen. I never knew him to write a poor story. I never knew him to take advantage of a set of facts to the detriment of any individual. I never knew him to approach a story from anything but the positive side. He was a reporter—and interpreter by nature. And above all, he was a gentleman.

The Austin American-Statesman, his journalistic home, ran a beautiful story and editorial about this distinguished writer and historian, and I am pleased to include it in the RECORD, as follows:

RAYMOND BROOKS, NEWSPAPERMAN

He gulped his coffee steaming hot.

It would disappear before most of his cohorts could stir the sugar into their cup.

He was in and out of sight as if someone was waving a magic wand over his head. One moment he was here, the next he was there, and suddenly he was gone.

His pencil ran across the pages of his notebook with a mixture of abbreviations, long hand and shorthand; but like most old timers he preferred loose sheets of paper, and these he stuffed into his coat side pocket one atop another.

His head was a storeroom of facts and figures that rolled effortlessly onto the typewritten page with an accuracy that was uncanny. Many of the "playbacks" he wrote in recent years—incidents of Texas political and governmental life—were from memory and required only a minimum of checking with the official record.

Eight years ago he slid into his chair at the Capitol pressroom. It was his 65th birthday, but there was no clue from him. In the Senate close friends without his knowledge were preparing a resolution in tribute to the Dean of the Capitol Press Corps and to a former parliamentarian of the State Senate.

It was in the heat of a regular session and the Senate morning call consumed more time than usual. In addition a prominent visitor was introduced. Press time for the afternoon paper was but minutes away and he broke for the press table with the intention of telephoning a few stories to the city desk.

A colleague literally held him by his coat-tail until Lt. Gov. Ben Ramsey could call him to the platform for the reading of the resolution, after which he was invited to address the Senate.

But the 65th birthday was only a brief milestone in the life of one of Texas' most devoted, most sincere and knowledgeable newspapermen. Until a few weeks ago his typewriter remained active. During the recent session of the legislature, from his hospital bed in Houston, and without benefit of reference books or the office files he wrote a "playback" on the legislative career of Senator Dorsey Hardeman of San Angelo, whose final term expires in January.

Like most newspapermen he had a variety of interests. He was an avid hunter, a marksman and an authority on military and hunting rifles.

In the office files there are several years of "Capitol A" columns. Some of the greatest of these are already included in documentaries on Texas government and politics. And these "playbacks," as he called them, were the direct result of his photographic memory.

Raymond Brooks was a great newspaperman.

OF THE THREE, ONLY MR. HUMPHREY OFFERS QUALITIES NATION WILL DESPERATELY NEED

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, this is a year of agonizing decision for the people of the United States. America's military might is severely challenged by Communist aggression while our domestic tranquillity has been ruptured by social upheaval which, while long in ferment, has burst forth and threatens to indelibly stain our national fiber and fabric.

A time of great decision is upon the American people and that decision is whether or not we move forward with courage to face and tackle the problems which face us; do we simply hold the line or do we do an about face and threaten the very foundations of our Constitution and democratic free government?

I have read a great deal and thought even more about the crisis at hand. However, I have yet to see the issues, alternatives, and possible consequences put as lucidly as they were this past Sunday, September 22, in an editorial published in the Nashville Tennessean entitled "Of the Three, Only Mr. HUMPHREY Offers Qualities Nation Will Desperately Need."

Mr. Speaker, I include the text of this editorial in the RECORD at this point and commend it to my colleagues for their consideration:

OF THE THREE, ONLY MR. HUMPHREY OFFERS QUALITIES NATION WILL DESPERATELY NEED

As voters look to the November election in the troubled and turbulent year of 1968 there

is a cloud of uneasiness and unrest settling over the land.

The war in Vietnam threatens world peace and drains the domestic economy. Warfare in the cities threatens order and drains national self-confidence.

Old people seem unable to communicate with the young; young people say they don't trust anybody over 30. White people are hostile to black people because of riots in the cities; black people are hostile to white people because of justice too long denied; the well-to-do and the middle class think of the poor as shiftless and lazy; the poor think of the rich as arrogant and the middle class as unfeeling.

In this environment the voters enthusiastically respond to overworked political clichés as they look for too-simple solutions to the most complex equations in the history of man.

A candidate says, "let us have law and order," and this evokes an emotional outburst as if the crying needs of the cities suddenly had been met.

A candidate says, "let us get all the way in the war in Vietnam, or get all the way out," and there are cheers and ovations as if the critical conflict in Southeast Asia has been won.

It is because these simplistic, cut-and-dried statements express what people want to do—not what can be done—that Richard M. Nixon now leads in all the public opinion polls in the race for the presidency and George C. Wallace has found such widespread favorable voter sentiment.

Mr. Nixon is the master of mixed generalizations. Mr. Wallace is the master of specific generalization. In ordinary times the vague utterances of Mr. Nixon would be uninspiring and the direct slams of Mr. Wallace would be a joke.

In the current campaign there is not a single issue which Mr. Nixon has met head-on; not a single problem area for which he has offered a clear-cut, positive workable program.

And there is not a single issue for which Mr. Wallace hasn't offered a positive answer—invariably the wrong one.

In the early days of the campaign Mr. Nixon's strategy has been to obscure the issues in a smokescreen of meaningless rhetoric. Mr. Wallace has had a different approach. He has sought to set fire to the issues and let reason burn. But at some point the voters of the nation must come to see through the smoke and fire and view the future of the country in terms of what must be done and what can be done realistically.

And there is but one candidate in the race for the presidency who has demonstrated a recognition that it will take more than campaign oratory to make a successful presidency.

Hubert H. Humphrey, the public opinion polls indicate, is not ahead in the political popularity contest.

He has not sought to become an "easy answer" candidate. He knows and admits there are no easy answers. Beyond that his personality, his wisdom, his compassion and his conviction have been submerged over a period of trying years in the fog of unpopularity which has surrounded the administration of President Lyndon Johnson.

Too few people have come to see him as his own man.

But as the few remaining weeks pass before the election, the voters of the nation are going to have to ponder the true nature of the world in which they live. They are going to have to look honestly at the three men who ask for their votes and decide which one of the three can best be trusted with the trying and tremendous power of the presidency. They must ask: Can Richard Nixon be trusted? Should George Wallace be trusted?

The voters must look at each man as an

individual and judge not what the man promises he will do, but what can be done to take the nation through a terribly difficult time.

It is easy to promise—as Mr. Nixon does—that he will end the war and that in the meantime he will prosecute it more effectively. It is easy to promise—as Mr. Wallace does—that he will "win the war or get out."

It is easy to promise—as Mr. Nixon does—that rioting in the streets will end when he becomes President because law and order will prevail. It is easy to promise—as Mr. Wallace does—that rioters will be shot.

It is more difficult and less popular to say candidly to the American people—as Mr. Humphrey does—that it will require still more patient, more determination and a greater effort than ever before to find a way to peace in Vietnam. It is more honest—if less attractive—to say to the American people that more and better trained and better paid police officers are needed to fight crime—but to admit that the riots and violence in the slums of the cities won't go away until conditions which create unrest are wiped out.

These are not words most Americans want to hear. Mr. Humphrey is challenging the nation at a time when its people want to turn away from reality and seek shelter from pressure and tension. But this is no time to dodge or hide.

Throughout his career Mr. Humphrey has been the apostle of the unpopular cause. If one figure in American politics has been willing to stand up against the storm and tide of extremism it has been Mr. Humphrey.

When the nation was hung up on witch hunts, and Mr. Nixon was leading the way, Mr. Humphrey was working to put down false fears and to protect the rights and reputations of innocent citizens.

When the nation was hung up on racism and Mr. Wallace was leading the way, Mr. Humphrey was working to provide laws to bring about equal justice and opportunity for every citizen.

He has been a progressive mayor, a thoughtful senator, a party leader dedicated to reform and opposed to blind reaction. If, as Vice President he has been part of an administration which seems to have been too much influenced by the military, the question now for the voters is which of the three candidates has the fortitude and integrity to break away from a course of militarism? The answer is Hubert Humphrey.

If he has been part of an administration during which riots have developed in the streets, the question now for the voters is which of the three candidates has the judgment and compassion to find the long-range answers to social disorder? The answer is Hubert Humphrey.

And which of the three candidates has the insight to recognize the forces at work in the world and has the capacity to deal with those forces in the search for peace? Again, the answer is Humphrey.

Which of the three candidates has the intellect and balance and self-confidence to hold in his hands the awesome power of the nuclear bomb? That is the ultimate and dangerous question.

Certainly the answer is Hubert Humphrey. It is true there have been some experiences that have eluded him. He never appeared on national television with a pet puppy dog to explain away questionable campaign contributions. That was Mr. Nixon's major acting role. He never appeared on national TV standing in a schoolhouse door in an effort to keep Negro students out of school. That was Mr. Wallace's scene.

Mr. Humphrey's record is not marked by scandal or stupidity and it gives insight to the sort of man he is: honest, a fighter, intelligent, loyal to a fault.

True today he seems unpopular. He is harassed and heckled. But he is no quitter.

It is in the nature of the American citizen to analyze and reflect soberly before deciding on matters of great consequence.

The coming election is of the greatest consequence. What is needed is leadership that is willing to deal with determination and conscience in the years ahead, attracting—not dismissing—the best brains available and the best talent available to move the country on a sensible and sound course.

The times are perilous. Wishing they would change and putting false hopes in phantom leaders will only make the future more difficult.

The nation needs Hubert Humphrey to be president more than Hubert Humphrey needs the office to climax a career of distinguished service.

He is the candidate who can be trusted. This newspaper endorses his candidacy, pleads his cause and urges his election.

LEADERS OF RIOT LISTED

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, September 21, 1968, a column by Ray Cromley of the Newspaper Enterprise Association in the Shelby, N.C., Daily Star set forth some background information on leaders in the Chicago riots.

Mr. Cromley's column gives information which should be known by all of our people. It is regrettable that at the time of the riots in Chicago that some of the news media did not see fit to advise the public as to the past records of those who were fomenting strife during the Democratic National Convention.

I make the column a part of my remarks at this point in the RECORD:

LEADERS OF RIOT LISTED

(By Ray Cromley)

WASHINGTON.—Because there's talk they'll attempt a new "confrontation" on election day, now is a good time to jot down a few notes about three top strategists of the Chicago youth riots.

David Dellinger, 53, was born at Wakefield, Mass. In Oct. 1940, he refused to register for the draft. He balked even at registering himself as a conscientious objector.

As a result, Dellinger was indicted by a New York grand jury. He pleaded guilty and was sentenced to one year and a day in prison.

On being released, Dellinger registered for military service but said he was a conscientious objector. In June 1943, he was charged with failure to report for a physical examination. He again pleaded guilty and was sentenced in Aug. 1943 at Newark, N.J., to two years in prison.

Little was heard of Dellinger for the next two decades.

It is known that he was editor of Liberation magazine published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and that in April, 1964, he traveled to Cuba legally as a news representative. Since then he has spoken out for the Castro regime at meetings sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

As chairman of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Dellinger was a major organizer of the Oct. 1967 march on the Pentagon.

Jerry Clyde Rubin, 30, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, attended Oberlin College for one year and the University of Cincinnati

five years, ending up with a B.S. degree in American history in 1962. He later did graduate work in sociology. He traveled to Cuba illegally in 1964.

Rubin has been a full-time paid employee of the Vietnam Day Committee. At a rally sponsored by that committee in 1965, he favored "massive civil disobedience" and was quoted as saying, "We must consider treason—deliberate sabotage of the war machine."

Rubin was arrested three times in 1965-66, once in San Francisco in connection with a demonstration against Gen. Maxwell Taylor, once in Washington, D.C., for causing a disturbance during a session of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and once for demonstrating on the University of California campus.

In 1966, he helped manage the congressional campaign of Robert Scheer, foreign editor of Ramparts magazine. In 1967, he was an unsuccessful candidate for mayor of Berkeley, Calif., on a platform opposing war and "American imperialism" and espousing black power and the legalization of marijuana.

As a co-ordinator of the Oct. 21, 1967 march on the Pentagon, Rubin was quoted as saying, "The peace movement is no longer one of merely protest and demonstration. We are now in the business of wholesale and widespread resistance and dislocation of the American society. We, the American people, are going to have to close down the Pentagon, the universities, the banks. . ."

On June 13, 1968, Rubin was arrested by the New York City police on a charge of possessing marijuana. He is, at present, a leader of the Youth International Party (Yippies).

Thomas Hayden, 28 was a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), was a principal author of the 1962 Port Huron Statement, which is the basis of SDS ideology, and was an SDS national president. He is now one of the society's most prominent spokesmen.

In December-January, 1965-66, Hayden went to North Vietnam illegally with Communist Party USA theoretician Herbert Aptheker and with Staughton Lynd.

In September, 1967, Hayden and 40 other Americans went to Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, for a one-week conference with North Vietnamese and Viet Cong representatives. From there he traveled to Cambodia as representative of an American peace committee. In Nov. 1967, the Viet Cong released three U.S. prisoners of war in his custody. In Jan. 1968, he flew to Cuba as an associate editor of Liberation magazine.

Hayden was one of the instigators of the demonstrations against Dow Chemical Co., recruiters at Rutgers University. He is quoted as having said, "The issue is not that Dow Chemicals has free speech but rather that they are war criminals. . . I think that in this case civil disobedience is justified."

HUMPHREYISM NO. 2

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

From a collection of Representative HENRY C. SCHADEBERG (R., Wisc.):

"I was thinking how lucky we are to be Democrats. Look at the fun we have. Look at the joy we have. Look at the spirit we have." (Speech by Hubert H. Humphrey, San Antonio, Tex., Sept. 17, 1964.)

RUMANIA REWRITES HISTORY

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an example of deliberate Communist manipulation of history and the persistent propaganda operations of Communist governments is covered in a very fascinating article by Dumitru Danielopol of the Copley Press.

Mr. Danielopol, a diplomat in the pre-World War II legitimate Rumanian Government, is especially equipped to discuss this subject:

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Union,

Aug. 31, 1968]

RUMANIA REWRITES HISTORY IN FEAR OF
SOVIET UNION

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

The tragedy of Czechoslovakia may finally convince the West to ignore Communist fairy tales. The latest comes from Rumania, a country obviously frightened by the Prague coup yet obedient to Red ways.

The Rumanian latest fairy tale concerns Aug. 23, an important date in the history of the country. It was on that day in 1944 that King Michael overthrew the military regime of Marshal Ion Antonescu and brought the country out of the Fascist Axis.

Though the minuscule Communist Party in Rumania had nothing to do with the coup, and in fact opposed it, the Rumanian Reds have claimed credit for it ever since they took power.

This year's effort comes from a pamphlet issued by the Rumanian Embassy in Washington entitled "Aug. 23—A Glorious Page in Rumania's History."

It claims that "it was the historic mission of the party of the Communists to unite into a single stream the broad masses of the people, the political circles, all forces interested in the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship."

This is sheer poppycock.

Let the Reds start believing their own lies, it behooves us to keep the record straight.

In 1944 conditions under which Rumania could escape the Axis were being negotiated in Cairo. Constantin Visolani, who was to become Rumania's foreign minister and is now chairman of the Rumanian National Committee in Washington, spent months talking to the British and the Americans.

He represented King Michael and the three top parties of Rumania—National Peasant, National Liberal and Social Democrat. The three represented 95 per cent of the population.

Though nonexistent as a party, some Communists were kept informed as a gesture toward the Soviet Union.

The date for the king's move was fixed for Aug. 26. However the British and American negotiators wouldn't give their consent unless the Russians too approved. The Soviets dragged their feet. A Rumanian coup did not meet their plans. They preferred to take the country without an armistice. The Red army launched a massive offensive in the north.

The king and his advisers decided they couldn't wait any longer. They made their move ahead of schedule on Aug. 23.

Marshall Antonescu was summoned to the Royal Palace and arrested. King Michael went on the radio and ordered the army to stop fighting the Allies. A coalition government was sworn in.

Moscow was furious.

Two jittery leaders, who had been taken by surprise, Lucretiu Patrascanu and Emil Bodnarus, feared that Moscow would consider this a doublecross.

As a matter of fact Patrascanu, who became minister of justice in the subsequent cabinet, was later arrested by his fellow Communists, tried for deviation and treason, tortured until he lost his mind, and executed.

He has now been "rehabilitated" posthumously by his executioners.

When the king acted there were still considerable Nazi forces in Rumania. When they recovered from their surprise, they counter-attacked and tried to capture Bucharest and arrest the king and his new cabinet.

Units of the Rumanian army stopped the Germans.

"We had armed some Communists just for this purpose," recalls Visolani, "but there was not one in sight. They disappeared with their weapons. They kept these to use them later against their own compatriots, in order to take over the country. The Communists had no more to do with the overthrow of Antonescu than the man in the moon."

Just for the record.

BIAFRAN EMERGENCY RESOLUTION

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, like all Americans I am deeply distressed at the daily reports of starving Biafran men, women, and children. Tens of thousands of innocent die from disease and starvation of epidemic proportions. Indeed, photographs in news magazines tear at the heartstrings of every civilized person.

Mr. Speaker, the responsibility of all nations of the world grows with the death of each man, woman, and child. We can no longer be lulled by the claim that the elimination of tens of thousands of persons is merely an internal affair. To do so would be an admitted bankruptcy of our moral courage and our humane concern for others.

The United States has, as in many other cases, pledged its cooperation in providing humanitarian assistance to these suffering people. Unfortunately, however, efforts in Addis Ababa to mediate the differences which have brought on this situation have been unsuccessful. Thus, delivery of food and medical supplies has been denied these starving people.

It is out of a feeling of genuine concern for these people, Mr. Speaker, that I join with other of my colleagues in sponsoring a resolution calling upon the President to make every effort, through the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, to bring before that body, for its consideration at the earliest possible time, the matter of developing and achieving some practical means for meeting the urgent and extraordinary humanitarian relief requirements of the needy in the Nigeria-Biafra area.

This situation demands the immediate attention of the House and I am hopeful that the sense of concern expressed in this resolution will become a reality before this Congress adjourns. Let us demonstrate our concern.

PROJECT TRANSITION

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I recently became aware of the efforts the Department of Defense is making through Project Transition to prepare servicemen before they are discharged to take on productive and well-paying jobs upon their return to civilian life.

At my request, the Defense Department has prepared a memorandum on this excellent project which is set forth below.

The Defense Department should be commended for its wisdom in undertaking this activity so that men in uniform may be better equipped "to share adequately in the abundance of American life." The cooperation of American industry in providing the needed training is also commendable and welcome. The same is true of the cooperation of educational institutions and of local and State law-enforcement agencies which are also providing training. The various advantages of the program are summarized at the conclusion of the memorandum.

The Defense Department's memorandum follows:

THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TRANSITION
TRAINING AND EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR RETURNING SERVICEMEN

Beginning this fiscal year over 900,000 men will be discharged from the Armed Forces. What will happen to this huge source of potential manpower?

Many men will be returning to jobs they held before entering service.

Others will desire to take immediate advantage of the GI Legislation for furthering their education.

A large number will hopefully utilize the civilian-related skills they acquired while in our Armed Forces in seeking direct employment in American business and industry, and in government service.

This enormous outpouring of men will be desirous of adjusting as quickly as possible to civilian pursuits.

But there does exist among our servicemen a significant number who entered the Armed Forces with low educational achievement or no skill. Many of these men have served in rigorous assignments in combat and combat-supported activities which did not permit furthering their education or acquiring a civilian-related skill. These young soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines want to become immediately productive. Many are not inclined toward college preparation. Some cannot afford protracted schooling. They want an immediate good paying job which will allow them to participate in the better things which American life can offer them.

We do know that American business and industry and labor, and indeed government, look continuously for individuals who can bring along a skill to do a job efficiently and economically.

Many of the returning servicemen will not be in a positive position to meet this kind of demand.

For this reason the Department of Defense is now seeking to provide to this group, during their last six months of service, maximum inservice training or education to bring them to the level of where they can be employed in a worthwhile job. The entrance badge of our technological society is a needed skill. The quicker many men can obtain this

badge, the faster they become individually self-sufficient. What the Department of Defense has done in its program, identified as Project Transition, is to recognize this crucial fact. It is providing training or educational assistance for the servicemen who have no skill or have limited education below the high school level.

It has undertaken to do this in a unique way. It recognizes that many government agencies are charged with certain responsibilities to veterans. It also recognizes that American business and industry as well as local, state, and Federal agencies have continuous demands for trained people and can offer training to meet their varying manpower requirements. It also recognizes that the American serviceman has already acquired through his military training, responsibility, responsiveness, discipline, teamwork, a sense of orderliness and a desire to get a job done in a timely and effective manner.

The Department of Defense is asking American industry to provide to those men training, while still in uniform, in a job for which an industry has a specific requirement. What this offers is an opportunity for immediate placement upon separation, so that most of the economic adjustment problems will not even arise. It is also asking government agencies to provide their resources for this effort.

What the Defense Department has attempted to do is to serve as a catalyst. Over 65% of the men leaving the service who have six months of time remaining desire to participate in the transition program. Thus, Project Transition tries to bring all available government services and training resources of industry closer to the men prior to their separation. It does not itself duplicate these functions. It merely serves to make them more readily available to the men.

We have found from experience with the program since January of this year (1968) that the men welcome the opportunity in our counseling program to sort out the facts and options concerning their future prior to leaving the service. The counseling and training programs go hand in hand. These young men are already much concerned about their future. They want to share adequately in the abundance of American life. They have been mobile during their military service so that they are ready to consider going to a new community where a good job may be. They would like to anticipate a fresh new life. But they also know that life is competitive and many are impatient to make a good adjustment.

Project Transition provides an opportunity for these young men to think critically about their future, assess their own capabilities, and obtain an educational or skill level which can make them immediately productive.

There are four basic elements in the program.

First, the counseling session provides service personnel with an opportunity to sort out options for the future and to decide what skill training or education program can be pursued within the service time remaining.

Second, the education program offered is principally aimed at preparing to achieve the necessary levels to be awarded the high school equivalency diploma. Other individual academic courses to supplement skill training may also be taken. Paths are opened to higher education, primarily for careers in public service for many who had no idea of going to college.

Third, skill training is offered through three sources:

1. The Department of Defense utilizes its on-going formal school courses which are civilian-related. But these courses are only used when there are scheduled shortfalls in attendance for those who normally would

be trained for military duties. In addition, the on-the-job training programs which utilize the many opportunities offered on a military base, are employed. Work in the local banks, the PX, computer machine room, welding shop and a whole variety of other occupational pursuits are made available if resources and time permit.

2. The Department of Defense utilizes the Manpower Development and Training Act resources of the Department of Labor. Project officers indicate the type of training desired and the Office of Education and the Department of Labor with state agencies arrange and manage the course offerings. In addition, some Federal agencies provide training to meet their own skill demands.

3. A major effort is being made with American industry to provide the skill training for the jobs it needs. The unique part of this program is that industry provides such training at its expense on or near a military base. A young serviceman obtains the training he desires and industry in turn gets a man trained against its own standards and requirements. These young men enter employment immediately upon discharge.

Fourth, the program offers placement services. Here the Department of Defense relies upon the United States Employment Services and the state agencies and upon business and industry to provide the placement opportunities. The program has found so far that the men are intensely interested in any training programs where training and placement go hand in hand. Thus, the offerings of American industry in Project Transition became particularly important. Industry training under the program is almost invariably linked with placement since companies have largely entered into the training in order to obtain good men.

The program outlined is an all-volunteer effort. Each soldier, sailor and Marine currently in the United States and all airmen at Air Force installations world-wide are given a questionnaire during their last six months of service. Those who indicate that they do not wish to reenlist are additionally questioned concerning their desire to enter into Project Transition. Between 65-70% of these men consistently express a wish to enter the program. When their decision is made, the counseling process begins to sort out their interests and their desires for education, training, and placement.

The program is administered on a highly decentralized basis. Under broad policy guidance from the Department of Defense, the base commanders are responsible for developing programs which can be accomplished within their regular mission and along the lines of the requirements of the men desiring to enter the program. The decision to release some men for a few hours of on-duty time or to conduct the bulk of the program off-duty, or by other combinations of time arrangements, is the commanders' option. The same decision applies to the use of the regular formal or on-the-job training programs of the base. The program is designed to be flexible in view of the basic mission and readiness requirements of the various commanders.

Through his project officers the commanders work out mutually agreed upon programs with industry, local, state and Federal agencies, schools, and colleges, and other agencies who desire to participate. When possible, the commander supplies facilities for outside agencies or arranges with them to utilize public or private off-post facilities furnished by local government or business. Large companies which desire to train at several installations across the nation make initial arrangements with the Department of Defense and the individual Services then make further arrangements with the local commanders. Local and regional arrangements with business and industry are made by the base personnel.

While the program is primarily aimed at those without a civilian-related skill or with a low educational achievement, with emphasis upon those who have served in combat, attempts are made to provide some kind of service to others. These include some men who are retiring after 20 or more years of service, many of whom have served in the Infantry, Artillery, or in the Armor. In addition, there are some men who have learned skills while in service, but who, during the last six months want to upgrade those skills to meet industry standards. A quick move in this direction helps many to eliminate underemployment.

On the educational side the Department of Defense is receiving help from universities, colleges, and junior colleges in developing innovative programs for many men with leadership and other qualifications who heretofore, because of previous environmental limitations, had no thought of moving into college training. One college has offered ten credit hours toward a teaching career during the last six months of service for those interested in eventual teaching in the ghetto area of St. Louis. Twenty four men have already completed this program and this fall are entering into an on- and off-campus work study program in the St. Louis school system. Other colleges have been asked to provide other types of courses which will help these young men enter productive fields such as public service.

During the period this program has been in operation, the Department of Defense has found that it has been having a positive effect upon reenlistment. The counseling period has enabled many of these men for the first time to weigh both the opportunities of an Armed Forces career and the opportunities of civilian life in a proper perspective. When they have a clear picture of their investment in the Services, their opportunities and the prospects in areas where they would wish to return, many make affirmative judgments about a career in the Army, Navy, Air Force or Marine Corps.

The Department of Defense has worked closely with local and state law enforcement agencies in the development of law enforcement training. The City of Los Angeles developed a standard training program and the first class recently graduated from a program in which local and state personnel provided the training staff for soldiers from Fort Irwin, California. Another program is beginning at Camp Pendleton, California for Marines. It is hoped that these courses will spring up at many other sites to provide men for our law enforcement agencies throughout the nation. The Department of Defense is also working with the Justice Department in developing a training program to provide correctional personnel for Federal prisons.

Where does the program stand at the present time?

The goal of the Department of Defense is to provide an opportunity for expression of interest through the questionnaire to about 500,000 men each year. Of these men it is hoped also to provide some counseling which will help them decide about the future, make contacts concerning the use of their service-acquired skills, or receive inservice education and training in order to obtain a civilian-related skill. The Department of Defense, for this latter group, hopes to make available training or educational opportunities to approximately 150,000 men each year.

This goal will be reached provided good counseling staffs can be developed and maintained and the full resources of American industry, local, state and Federal government agencies can be brought to bear. The Department of Defense's financial contribution is largely in providing the administrative staff and counselors and some training, largely on the job, utilizing already available facilities and people. It has been relying upon the financial support of American industry and

the government agencies who have regular responsibility for training and placement in order to provide the resources for these two vital activities.

Since January 1968 over 200,000 men have completed questionnaires. Over 150,000 service personnel have been counseled.

Of those who were counseled and chose to receive education or training during their last six months of service, about 13,000 have completed some training course and another 13,000 are now in training.

Of those who desire some opportunity for this education and training, 70% choose the skill training route and 30% select the path toward education. Most of the latter desire to receive a high school equivalency certificate before leaving the service.

Approximately 50 major American industries or business organizations are providing training and some 150 other smaller local and regional industries are supplying training support to the bases near their plant or business locations as well as placement opportunities. The Department of Defense intends to expand continuously this industry base.

A good amount of the training courses are heavily weighted in the direction of service-type occupations, such as automobile repairmen, TV and electronic equipment servicemen, small appliance repairmen, welders, computer technicians. The range also extends from pipefitters, draftsmen, office machine repairmen to sales representatives and law enforcement officers. These courses are responsive to interests of the men and to the needs in civilian life. No courses are offered for which there is no employment demand.

State and local agencies have provided over 80 courses for training over 800 personnel to date.

The Manpower Development and Training Act program provided skill courses for over 1500 men during the last four months of FY 68, and it is hoped that about 10,000 men can be so trained in FY 69. These courses are particularly tailored for those who would otherwise have no negotiable skill prior to their release from active duty.

During the six months in which the program has been in operation, certain conclusions may be drawn. The program:

1. Is reaching many men at a very critical point in their life when they want to build upon their recent military service in the very best way possible.

2. Is increasing the services to the veterans at a very critical time when they have some opportunity to reflect positively on what kind of aid they may desire.

3. Helps to counterbalance immediately some slippage in concern for the returning soldier, sailor, airman, or Marine at a time when attention is riveted upon other pressing problems.

4. Provides to the men while still in uniform a very meaningful expression of the public interest and concern for their immediate future in a manner heretofore not demonstrated to the returning serviceman.

5. Enables servicemen to make rational choices in a favorable decision-making climate while they still have the security of the uniform, including an opportunity to take a hard look at the realities of civilian life, weighing his goals against his own capabilities.

6. Provides an opportunity for those who would otherwise be returning to a critical urban or rural environment to make a choice for mobility and follow a good industry job to a new community.

7. Helps universities and colleges to provide innovative programs to men who may never have sought such training under the GI benefits.

8. Enables American industry to convert to immediate use a very ready, capable, and interested manpower pool through training according to its own requirements.

9. Enables the Armed Forces to offer a recruiting incentive to all prospective applicants by providing not only a career program with security, but an option for closing the loop back to civilian life with an educational or training advantage for all personnel when they leave the service at the conclusion of their military obligation.

10. Permits the Veterans' Administration, Department of Labor, Office of Education, Department of Commerce, Justice Department, as well as local and state governmental jurisdictions to give wider and more immediate support to the servicemen in the fields where they have the responsibility and capability.

11. Lays the basis for a more meaningful use of GI benefits to those individuals who most need to consider the value of these benefits.

12. Enables those who have developed or realized their leadership potential while still in uniform to give more positive expression to this capability by training in public service or other occupations where this leadership quality can be fully utilized.

13. Eliminates the possibility for some men entering the category of disadvantaged by giving them the opportunity to become immediately self-sufficient.

14. Enables many men who would otherwise spend long periods in job search or uncertain training to acquire a skill and enter immediately into the role of a positive economic contributor to American life.

PONTIAC, MICH., BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUB

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the National Business & Professional Women's Club is a great organization which has existed in the United States for some 50 years. Historically, it is interesting to understand the motivation for the formation of each of these clubs and the things which brought them together as a national organization.

On Saturday evening, September 21, I was present at the 50th anniversary of the Pontiac, Mich., Business & Professional Women's Club. One of the members, Mrs. Margaret Cole, had done a great deal of research through the records and she reported on the history of that club. It was particularly interesting to me. Many of the women named as speakers or as members became the foremost women of the State of Michigan. They added greatly to the quality of American life. For the benefit of those who are interested in such historical organizations, I am pleased to spread Margaret Cole's remarks on the RECORD, as follows:

PONTIAC BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUB, 1910-68: HISTORICAL HIGHLIGHTS PRESENTED AT GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY DINNER, SEPTEMBER 21, 1968

(By Margaret Cole)

According to Mrs. H. H. Thatcher, first President of Pontiac Business and Professional Women's Club (1918-19), the "Women were organized and classified in order to aid in war relief and the first gathering of this group in 1918 was sponsored by the government." That same year a group of business

women of Saginaw entertained the business women of the state, in order "to effect the organization of the Business Women's Association of Michigan and to assist in its work."

The following June a second meeting was held with Mrs. Elizabeth Sears, of New York, representing the National Business Women's Committee. At this meeting Mrs. Grace Thatcher, of Pontiac, was appointed a delegate to the Convention of the Women's Association of Commerce of the United States to be held in St. Louis in July, 1919.

In January 1920, at a board meeting in Detroit the action of the Michigan delegation at St. Louis was ratified and it was recommended that the group join the new National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. The object of the organization was "To encourage the organization of Associations of Business and Professional Women in all parts of the State of Michigan; to promote and protect the interests of women in the professional, civic and industrial world; to become the source of information with respect to new opportunities for women, and to encourage all women to greater effort in developing efficiency in the more important activities of the world's work."

At the state meeting held in Saginaw on June 21, 1919, Mrs. Thatcher was elected Treasurer, a position to which she was re-elected in 1920. Pontiac also had its first national officer when Mrs. Thatcher was elected a National Vice President at the meeting held in Flint on May 20, 1922.

The name of Ann Nusbaumer appeared as a Charter Member of the Pontiac Club. 1921 records indicate there were 58 paid members, among them Grace Heitsch, still an active member, and Jessie Brewer.

Meetings were held in the Board of Commerce where the B&PW had clubrooms. One of the early community projects undertaken by the club was that of establishing an employment agency and lounge rooms for business women in the city. Too, the club was concerned with the question of coordinating with the Girls Protective League to see what could be done to make the club rooms more useful to girls.

In 1924 the advisability of the location of an information bureau for business women and the concern for closing stores on Saturday night in Pontiac was of utmost importance.

In March of that same year, the Executive Director of the Girl Scouts was employed and B&PW Club offered the use of their clubrooms as an office for the Director. Among the programs presented that year was a message from Adah Shelly, City Librarian, telling of the needs of the City Library. George H. Gardner of the Pontiac Daily Press addressed members advocating the election of Governor Grosbeck. Among those whose names appeared as active members at this time were Vera Bassett, Gertrude Hock, Ruth Kimball (Starker) and Fritz Stoddard. That same year members voted to raise dues from \$3 to \$5 and assess a 10¢ fine for unexcused absences. The Little Theater of Pontiac was supported by club interest and funds.

Scholarships were the main goal for the year 1925 and this continued to be a project that has carried on through the years. It is interesting to note that concerns at that time have but been enlarged upon today. Miss Eleanor Hutzel, Bureau of Education, State Dept. of Health, in speaking to the group reported, "there is too much criticism of the boys and girls of today and not enough understanding. One thing in which the club could use its influence is in removing from the newsstands, pamphlets of an undesirable type."

The group also participated in a "City Beautiful" contest with two types of contests, (1) Paint Up & Clean Up, (2) Lawn, Flower and Shrubs.

Mrs. George T. Hendrie invited B&PW members to the Mid-western Conference of the National Woman's Party held at her home in Bloomfield Hills. As the report indicated "located near Detroit."

The club contributed to City Hospital for a "free bed" that was being maintained by the City Federation.

Dr. Farnham spoke of the inadequacy of present hospital facilities and explained the offer of the Sisters of Mercy of Dubuque, Iowa, to build here. This was to become St. Joseph Mercy Hospital of Pontiac. The club pledged toward this effort, the money raised by individual pledges.

The club also supported the Recreation Dept's Doll and Pet Show.

As a means of increasing friendliness and good fellowship in the Club, the President, Mabel Judd, (1923-1925) suggested that each member call others by their first name.

Mrs. W. H. Collier reported on the Women's World Fair held in Chicago. Emphasis was placed upon the fact that the popular type of woman today is the one who does things.

"Preparation for War and Education for Peace" was the title of an address by Mrs. A. H. Crowell the early part of 1926 during Ann Nusbaumer's presidency (1925-1927). Mrs. Crowell stressed the *Preparation for War* and stated, "That great authorities in America today are discussing the inevitability of war, that education for war will not bring peace, but, as in the planting of grain, the yield is increased many times. The solution of the problem is love and cooperation, not hate."

During this same period a Mr. Rollins of Detroit spoke on "Narcotics," the problem seemingly of great concern at that time. A report from the U.S. Treasury stated that there were a million drug addicts and that the number was increasing by a thousand daily.

In keeping with their concern for scholarships, the club purchased textbooks and supported a girl attending Oakland County Normal. Equipment was purchased for a "Well Baby Center" located in the southern part of the City and directed by the Visiting Nurses Association.

During the years that Vera Bassett served as president, (1927-1929) the club contributed to funds to help defray expenses of a Vocational Teacher in our City. In March 1928 members traveled to Rochester and helped celebrate the 1st Anniversary of the Rochester Club. Pontiac B&PW Club sponsored the organization of the club the previous year. Of interest too was the fact that members participated in the parade of the new D.U.R. (Detroit United Railway) cars.

With permission from the State President, the club entertained surrounding clubs at dinner at Stevens Hall with 98 members attending.

The location of the clubs meeting place was changed during this time and records show that the meetings were held in the First Baptist Church and in Dr. Campbell's office. Later the meeting place was again changed to the Masonic Temple club rooms, during the term of office of Harriet Ratliff (1929-1931).

It was in 1933 during Margaret Hawkins presidency (1931-1933) that Vera Bassett moved and Grace Heitsch supported, "that Pontiac B&PW take out an Associate Membership in the International Federation of Business & Professional Women's Clubs," the cost being \$5.00. This action carried the support of the entire membership. During this time club members were also actively protesting House Bill 381 (a bill to prevent the employment of married women). The ensuing years found such able persons as Grace Heitsch (1933-1935) and Pauline Hammond (Brodie) (1935-1936) serving as President. Club activities included the support of the Community Chest, Library, Welfare, Visiting Nurse Ass'n., Emergency Nursery Schools and Scholarships.

In January of 1937, under the leadership of Daisy Jewett, the Pontiac Club was incorporated. 1938 found the group recommending to the Federal Communication Commission the issuance of a radio station license to Pontiac Broadcasting Company. Again, the club backed Saturday night closing of stores in Pontiac. The Red Cross Relief Fund was also supported by the club.

The following year (1938) under the leadership of Eva Dyer (1938-1940) the club furnished the Girls Club room at the Juvenile Home, provided candy and nuts at Christmastime to Whittier School children, supported the YMCA and Community Chest as well as contributed individually to the Needlework Guild. A special money-making project that provided funds for the furnishing of the room at the Juvenile Home was that of selling evergreen trees. Members sold 1,000 trees at 10c each.

Activities supported by the club during Jane Danton's presidency (1940-1942) were the Family Service Bureau, replacing and repairing furniture at the Juvenile Home. The club wrote Rep. Clark Adams opposing a minimum wage for women. A highlight of the year was the election of Daisy Jewett to the office of Secretary of the Michigan Federation of B&PW Clubs.

The Club Bulletin was named "Listening In" during Gladys Maxwell's term of office (1942-1943) and the main project of the club was that of sending kits to the boys at Battle Creek Hospital. Pontiac Club hosted the "Cabaret Party" held at the State Convention.

In 1943, under the guidance of Thelma Sharritt, the Pontiac B&PW Club was the first service club in Pontiac to recruit and sponsor a WAC (Women's Army Corps). This was Phyllis Coutenmanche, a teacher at Eastern Jr. High School in Pontiac.

1944 found Ethlynn Peterson, President. Daisy Jewett was elected to the office of President of the Michigan Federation of B&PW Clubs; Eleanor Lockman Sec./Treasurer of District One and Pontiac celebrated the Silver Anniversary of the National Federation with Lean Lake Forest as speaker. The club supported the American Red Cross and sent yarn and wheel chairs to Percy Jones Hospital in Battle Creek. A contribution to the National Federation's Chinese Nursing Fund was also made. That year the club won the Emilia Kennedy Award for stabilizing its membership. The award was presented at the State Convention.

Projects that earned the support of the club during the years 1945-1947 while Lenore Stephens and Eleanor Lockman served as presidents included: Contributed to Oakland County United War Fund, March of Dimes, Boy's Club of Pontiac, Red Cross, and the club gave an annual subscription of "Independent Woman" to the Pontiac City Library.

Margaret Cole served as president during 1947-48 and it was during this time that the club gave \$800 to the Leader Dog League for the Blind. This covered the purchase of a leader dog, training of dog and training of the handicapped person to whom the dog was given. The club joined the list of Needlework Guild Contributors. A letter received from Michigan State Governor Kim Sigler stated in part, "your theme, 'We Face Tomorrow' is an example of the realism, combined with the idealism which makes the B&PW Federation a potent force."

October 1948, Pontiac B&PW Club witnessed the chartering of the Keego Harbor B&PW Club, with Eloise Varion (Riley) serving as President of Pontiac (1948-49).

Plans for a Civic Auditorium in Pontiac were being formulated and the Club supported this project along with presenting an exhibit of Harmon Foundation Portraits of famous Americans of Negro origin, during 1949-1950 when Hazel McGirr served as president.

180 members and guests attended the an-

nual guest night dinner at Stevens Hall in April of 1950 at which time Dr. H. Marvin Pollard of the University of Michigan Medical School spoke. Oakland County Medical Society and other community service clubs were guests at this meeting. Serving as president during 1950-1951 was Josephine Seeley.

The club continued to carry on its community projects during the presidencies of Harriet Gates (1951-52) and Mary Mitchell (1952-54). In December 1952 Pontiac B&PW Club announced the purchase of its third leader dog. This dog went to a young Pontiac mother who was referred to the club by the League of the Blind. In 1953 packages were sent to the American Consulate General for Youth Reconstruction and Self Help Organization. These packages of clothing were sent to Korea. It was interesting to note that at this time Fritz Stoddard closed her shop and as the article in the Pontiac Press stated at that time, "after 40 years of bringing chic to the City."

A resolution appeared in the Michigan Business Woman's Bulletin in Sept. of 1954 upon the death of Ann Nusbaumer as well as an editorial in the Pontiac Press on Oct. 2, 1954. Both stated that Ann was the last active charter member of the Pontiac B&PW Club. In October of that same year Pontiac Club members were again saddened by the death of Daisy Jewett. The club contributed toward the new home of the National Federation in their memory. Serving as president of the club at this time was Kay McPherson (McKenzie).

On April 9, 1955 members were happy to congratulate Mr. & Mrs. H. H. Thatcher on the occasion of their 65th wedding anniversary. To the list of community projects that the club continued to support during the presidency of Dee Salton (Nichols) (1955-57) were a \$200. contribution to Girls Ranch and the placing of two roadmarkers to the entrance of the City. (These were B&PW Club Emblems.) During this time Pontiac had three District 10 Committee chairmen: Jane Danton, Cancer Fund, Eva Dyer, Parliamentarian and Margaret Cole, Membership.

Proceeds from a Bridal Fashion Show were given toward the Civic Auditorium Fund during Ora Randall (Derbyshire) presidency (1957-1959) and the club gave \$150 to the Leader Dog for the Blind in the name of Nolan Kaiser. A life membership in the club was given to Mary Todd at this time.

Members participated in the Greater Pontiac Centennial celebration while Rosamond Haerberle served as president (1959-1961) and the club held a 40th Anniversary party at Devon Gables, 1959 being the 40th Anniversary year of the National Federation. Virginia Allen, Past State President and present Membership Chairman of the National Federation delivered the main address.

Although Mrs. Thatcher was unable to attend because of ill health, she sent greetings. The club gave a scholarship to Oakland University to Sandra Lemon of West Bloomfield in keeping with their scholarship interest and President Rosamond Haerberle was elected Secretary of District 10 of the Michigan Federation and Ann Stapp served as District Membership Chairman.

The Pontiac Symphony Orchestra was among the many community projects that the club participated in during the time that Anne Stapp (McGuire) was president (1961-1962) of the Pontiac Club.

Serving faithfully during 1962-1964 was Rose McDonald and during this time a scholarship was presented to a Pontiac High School senior to attend the University of Michigan's School of Nursing.

A room at Pontiac General Hospital was furnished by funds contributed by the Pontiac B&PW Club during the period 1964-1966 when Margaret Cole was returned to the office of President. It is interesting to note that installing the officers at that time was

Past National President Marion McClench who is with us tonight. Your president also served as Secretary of the Michigan Federation's Revolving Cancer Fund and was one of 10 women in Michigan selected to attend a briefing of the NASA Project at Cape Kennedy in Sept. 1965. As a result of this briefing, the State Personal Development Committee held a conference (Women in the Space Age) at Oakland University on April 2, 1966 with Margaret Cole serving as chairman. Members of the Pontiac Club served as hostesses. (I might add that our speaker tonight, The Hon. Martha Griffiths, was one of the outstanding panelists at that conference).

It was in April of 1965, that Rosamond Haerberle was elected Director of District 10 and Amy Carlson, Anne Stapp McGuire and Helen Kinney served as committee chairmen.

During the past years (1967-1968) community interest was directed toward the support of activities of Pontiac's YWCA and our President, Lucinda Wyckoff, served as a member of the Board of Directors of the YWCA.

Thus far this year, President Helen Kinney, has been actively engaged in local activities and has served as chairman of the Michigan Breakfast at the National Convention. Certainly one of the highlights will be recorded as the Golden Anniversary of the Pontiac Business and Professional Women's Club (1919-1968) that we are celebrating tonight.

I cannot conclude this sketch of history of the Pontiac Business & Professional Women's Club without paying special tribute to our oldest living member who during the years has given so very much to each and every one of us, not only of herself but of her beautiful philosophy of life. Mary Todd, who celebrated her 99th birthday on May 13th. I wish to extend congratulations to the club on her behalf.

HIGHWAY CUTS IMPROPERLY APPLIED TO GENERAL REDUCTION IN BUDGET

HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, by including \$200 million in Federal highway aid reductions in the \$3.5 billion budget reduction figure, the Johnson-Humphrey administration is trying to fool the public—as usual.

The highway program has nothing to do with the regular Federal budget. It is paid for by the special highway trust fund. This fund receives the gasoline and other motor vehicle taxes we pay and they are earmarked solely for highway uses.

Not only is it false bookkeeping to claim these cuts as part of general budget reductions, the highway cuts themselves are unwarranted. These cuts will delay the completion of safe highways. This is at a time when 90 million vehicles are crowding the existing roads.

It is shameful that the Johnson-Humphrey administration would gamble with public safety while claiming this is part of prudence in Government. It is shameful, but I guess it has to be added to the long list of other attempts to fool the American people, all of which adds up to the infamous "credibility gap."

THE 15TH ANNUAL RED MASS OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF DUBUQUE, IOWA—SERMON BY FATHER GERALD SHEKLETON OF DUBUQUE

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the opportunity to attend the annual red mass of the Archdiocese of Dubuque, held this year at St. Mary's Church in Waverly, Iowa. For the past 15 years, this mass has been said every year for members of the legal profession in northeast Iowa.

But as the celebrant of the mass, Father Gerald Shekleton, of Dubuque, said in his sermon that day, this year the special mass takes on added significance "as disrespect for the legal threads of our society's existence have torn their cohesive bonds asunder."

Father Shekleton noted "The age-old moral dilemma with which every healthy society must come to terms" as the heart of our present problems in this country today—"drawing the fine line between the function of government and the obligation of the citizen to himself and to his country."

He said:

Vigorous democracy must preserve the proper balance between the duties of government and the responsibility of its citizens. When one is exaggerated at the expense of the other, the balance is lost, society suffers.

Mr. Speaker, at this critical period in our national history, I think that Father Shekleton's remarks have equal relevance for us, as legislators, as they do for the lawyers and judges of northeast Iowa. I commend his comments to my colleagues in the House, and under unanimous consent include them at this point in the RECORD:

In the Providence of God the Archbishop of Dubuque, together with a group of his clergy, the distinguished members of the Bar and Bench, guests of the Archdiocesan Lawyers Guild, members of St. Mary's parish in Waverly, the People of God, are gathered around the altar of the Lord to beg the blessings and guidance of the Holy Spirit in this annual Red Mass.

Today, Sunday, September 15, 1968, marks the 15th time this special Mass has been offered in the Archdiocese of Dubuque and all of us express public thanks to God for the many graces granted to the legal profession here in Northeast Iowa these past 15 years. Again this year we repeat the prayer priests recite today in their breviary: "Holy Spirit, one with the Father and the Son, deign at this hour to come down on us without delay, and pour out your graces over our soul."

May I be permitted a personal note? My home town is not far from here. It is Greene in Butler County. One of Iowa's most distinguished members of the bench is Judge Henry Graven, a fellow townsman of mine who is present with us today. I recall so well back in the 30's when rumor had it Attorney Graven was being considered for a federal judgeship. Naturally we were delighted, and when the choice was made public the town of Greene took on a new luster and stature.

Happily, over the years Judge Graven has acquitted himself well. He has brought new dignity and respect for the body of law.

And we salute him for his great contributions, not only to our community, but to the state and country.

Today, also, we salute all the members of the legal profession. We look upon you as the great defenders of justice, protectors of our liberty and spokesmen for what is right.

The importance and significance of the Red Mass in these delicate days cannot be minimized. A quick glance of the events, just in our country, in the past twelve months, reveals the rapid unravelling of the very fabric of our society as disrespect for the legal threads of its existence have torn their cohesive bonds asunder. Only last week we learned with regret that major crime in this country has taken a sharp turn upward, an increase of 16 per cent in one year. Serious crimes increased 89 per cent between 1960 and 1967, while violent crimes have gone up 73 per cent so far in the 60's.

These are days of crucial concern for every American. The waves of rioting, burning, and looting, the take over of administration buildings and imprisonment of officials at our colleges and universities, the open counselling of our youth to ignore and violate laws are leading to such a complete disregard and disrespect for the law that the very foundations of our democratic way of life are being undermined. Without law and order, we face complete anarchy.

At the heart of the problem is an age-old moral dilemma with which every healthy society must come to terms. It is that of balancing the rights of the individual against the good of society as a whole; drawing the fine line between the function of government and the obligation of the citizen to himself and to his country.

As lawyers you have heard it said so often that a stable, vigorous democracy must preserve the proper balance between the duties of government and the responsibilities of its citizens. When one is exaggerated at the expense of the other, the balance is lost, society suffers.

Today we are losing our perspective in the proper role of government in relation to the individual. Too many of us confuse the desire for something with the right to something. There are certain rights in a free democracy which are the function of government to guarantee and protect.

But there are other so-called rights, about which we hear a great deal lately, which are not really rights at all. They have taken on an aura of credence of rights because of the myths surrounding them. In the process of perpetuating these myths, genuine rights such as the right of the majority to freedom from fear, to protection by the law, and to the freedom to choose, have been so twisted and degraded that the true meaning of real rights has been obscured and mocked.

It is becoming increasingly fashionable today to justify almost anything by calling it a right. It is your duty, as well as mine, to see that the eternally true values of our civilization are not swept away by the torrent that now engulfs us.

Speaking in 1895 in Chicago Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul remarked, "Law is order in liberty, and without order liberty is social chaos. The highest test of a people's fitness for free institutions is their willingness to obey law."

Violence and destruction is nothing new to America. Our history is filled with it. In the past by demanding respect for law and order we have turned back violence and restored peace and tranquility. We must do it again.

But the recent wave of civil disobedience and other infractions of law, point out so forcefully that all these antics are so contrary to the great traditions left us by the founders of this republic. Our greatest fear today is that this new massive wave of disrespect for law and authority will not only undermine the institutions of our free so-

cietly, but lead us down the road to social suicide.

History teaches us that law and order is the greatest bulwark of individual liberty. It defines and protects every man's individual rights, but it also imposes individual responsibility on every man to respect and recognize the individual rights of others. When law ceases to function, tyranny begins.

Violence and disrespect for law and authority is not confined to America. We witness it in every corner of the world, in every strata of society, by individuals, groups and entire nations. Law, we know, can unfortunately be a tool of violence in the hands of the powerful against the weak, especially so when the basic rights of men are overrun.

Speaking to the graduating class of Princeton University in 1835 the forceful Judge Wm. Gaston of North Carolina, who was the founder of the Supreme Court of that state, said, "Rebellion against the law is in the nature of treason. The law deserves our obedience, it alone can reconcile the jarring interests of all and blend into one harmonious union the discordant materials of which society is composed."

We hear a great deal these days about uniting political parties. We should talk more about uniting America.

Reform and renewal is not limited to the Church. Every facet of our society is experiencing change. Some call it revolution. People are developing new values.

Reform any and every structure you desire, but they will all remain ineffective unless minds and attitudes are shown the worth of true values, and made to act in accordance with those values.

I'm afraid there is a *hesitancy* among us today to speak about the dignity of law. The American Way of justice still stresses individual liberty. It is this precious legal system which guarantees free speech, free choice of religion, free movement, free press, free trial, free choice of employment, yes, free men.

If these are days of uncertainty, and insecurity, they are also days of hope and confidence. These are days when we look with courage to the noble men of the legal profession to be the real leaders in bringing back the respect and dignity that is due the law. It should be repeated here that respect for law results only when persons understand the law and when persons feel that the law is fair and that the law itself respects all persons, regardless of race, color or creed.

In asking you to create a new era of respect for law I would remind you that law partakes in the nature of the holy. Judge and lawyer must never overlook this aspect of legal statutes. The holiness of law has been recognized by men in so many ways.

Moses legislated for his people only after conversing with God. In the psalms judges are divinely addressed in these words: "Gods you are, I myself have declared it; favored children, everyone of you, of the most High."

Judges and barristers should be holy men. Their profession demands it. They dispense justice and justice is the proper virtue of God.

There is still another virtue so closely identified with men of the bar and bench, a virtue which we need to hear more of in this age of pervasive anxiety. It is wisdom. Alfred Lord Tennyson wrote that "knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers." True wisdom, of which the world now is desperately in need, can be found only in the light of Christ atop the mountain.

Here at this Red Mass you renew your dedication to holiness, reason and wisdom. And you do so in the presence of your God.

The scales of justice are delicately balanced. It doesn't take much to throw them off. Men must respect law and order, but law and order must also respect men.

Today with St. Paul I say, I stand before the Father from "whom every family in

heaven and on earth takes its name; and I pray that He will bestow on you gifts corresponding to the richness of His glory. May He strengthen your inner selves with power through His Spirit. May Christ dwell in your hearts through faith; and may love be the root and foundation of your life."

We pray God that He will make your hands, steady, enlighten your minds, strengthen your hearts, to make pure and reasonable judgments.

It is for us now to ask the Holy Spirit to "banish all trouble of mind, to bestow health and to give the good blessings of everlasting peace."

"May the blessed God, whose glory resounds through all creation, Father, Son, and likewise the Holy Spirit, grant us this. Amen."

NATIONAL HIGHWAY WEEK PROCLAIMED

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, National Highway Week has been proclaimed by the President of the United States for September 22 to 28, 1968. There is no more important contribution to our way of life than our highways, and this proclamation is a most fitting tribute to our highway program.

Every facet of our daily life is tied to our highway system. No phase of our life—whether it be our economy, jobs, community, or cultural, recreational or educational pursuits—is carried on without use of highways. The network binds us together as a nation. The movement of people and goods, which are the mainstay of this country's growth and development, cannot exist without the arteries of the roads we have developed throughout this country.

In my own State of California the movement of people and goods is particularly dependent on good highways. California has continuing programs to finance, build, and maintain both its freeways and State highways and the essential city streets and country roads. In developing these necessary highways, California has in the past and continues to lead the world in the use of the latest techniques in design and construction, as well as in operation and maintenance. Continued study and research are leading to more effective route locations, more efficient estimates of traffic flow, better design, and as a result, better service to highway users and the community.

In the same vein, the Federal Government is continually studying and researching for ways to perfect the entire highway system, for we must have a developmental program to meet the needs of an ever-changing society. As our population centers expand, the need for expanded highways becomes essential. Every level of government has the responsibility to continue its efforts to create a system that will meet not only the needs of every American, but will protect the communities through which these highways pass. In effect, our highway system must serve the people and the community.

National Highway Week gives recognition to the gains of the highway system in the United States, and rightfully so. The attendant problems and solutions to them must also command our attention. It is a time for pride and for reflection. As President Johnson's proclamation stated:

The Federal government is concerned both with improving the quality of highway transportation and with achieving the social good that is implicit in our highway program.

THE ULTIMATE FOLLY

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, seldom before in our history has the madness and folly of war been more tragically illustrated than in Vietnam.

For 5 long years we have fought in that distant land and 25,000 of our finest young men have died, our wounded number in excess of 170,000, another 2,000 more are either missing or captured by those whom we war against. And in this same and tragic period of time, this Nation of ours has spent untold billions of dollars, not to build or to create, but to destroy and to lay waste a land and a people.

And for what reason? Can this administration tell us why we are in Vietnam? What, I ask, in the name of reason justifies our having 500,000 American young men 12,000 miles away from home?

The late Gen. Douglas MacArthur warned us that "Men will not fight and die without knowing what they are fighting and dying for." But in Vietnam, men are both fighting and dying, without really knowing the reason why.

The President has promised us peace, but there is no peace, only more war and more killing and more wounded and more billions being wasted in a conflict that has morally weakened our posture among the community of nations.

The President has pleaded for patriotism without ever having told us what he really considers patriotism to be; he has both acted and reacted in this conflict without ever feeling any need to explain why or for what reason; in virtually all matters relating to the war he has acted as a man more concerned with his place in history, than with seeking a just and honorable end to the hostilities.

Through all of this the madness and folly goes on and no one either can or will tell us how or when or by what means it will end.

The people have grown weary of the struggle, for it has gone on for so long; and the deaths are so many; and the money wasted so great; and the lies and distortions and half-truths so numerous, that the people seek some kind of escape from the reality of this grievous tragedy. And who can blame them?

We must not—however awful its reality—forget about Vietnam and those who fight and bleed and die there, for if we do, we will have fallen victim to the

same terrible malady that has laid this administration so low, a malady which forgets that soldiers and marines and sailors, are persons, too.

Victor Gollancz, in his book, "From Darkness to Light," has written:

We shall never stop war, whatever machinery we may devise, until we have learned to think always, with a sort of desperate urgency and at utter self-identification, of single human beings.

It is this fear, the fear that we will forget, that those who fight in Vietnam are not one great faceless mass, but that they are in fact men with families and friends and loved ones; with careers planned and others interrupted and still others never again to be regained, that leads me to join with my distinguished colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM MOORHEAD, of Pennsylvania, in asking that this Government begin to disengage itself from Vietnam by commencing to bring the troops home.

I am well aware that there are no simple solutions to the tragedy of Vietnam, but I also know that it can go on forever, unless we begin now, to put a stop to it, for there must be a point of beginning.

General Eisenhower once told the noted author John Gunther that "I hate war as only a soldier who has lived it can, only as one who has seen its brutality, its futility, its stupidity."

I, too, hate war and all that it involves, but more particularly Vietnam, for it is the ultimate folly. Let us then, now, resolve to put an end to it, once and for all time.

CONTINUE INSISTENT MOVES FOR PEACE

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I supported the minority report of the convention platform committee on Vietnam and Asia.

The proposal to stop bombing over North Vietnam, while continuing to provide all necessary air support and other support of American troops in the expectation of restraint and reasonable response from Hanoi is designed to spark early peace.

Over a period of time now this Government has ordered several bombing halts or reduced bombing in an effort to induce Hanoi to negotiate the peace in good faith. But there has been no real, significant response to date.

Our Armed Forces have also avoided striking at large population centers in Vietnam, although there are many so-called military target areas therein where military supplies of all kinds flow in a steady stream to permit deadly attacks upon American boys, our allies, and the indigenous population.

I have voted for a plan to favor an international presence in Vietnam to represent the world community with responsibility and authority: First, to assist in and assure the conduct of a free

election; second, to assure the protection of all minorities against reprisal; third, to make arrangements and to supervise the earliest possible withdrawal of all outside military forces from Vietnam, consistent with the safety of our troops, wards, and the helpless peoples of the areas; and fourth, to facilitate the transition from war to peace.

These provisions would foster self-determination for the people of South Vietnam through free elections, so that the Government of South Vietnam can be chosen democratically by the people, and to provide free election results, full freedom for all political groups in South Vietnam, and opportunity for them to present their candidates and programs.

To my mind, this plan would continue to carry out, and would clarify in some respects, the observations and efforts for cessation of hostilities and campaigns for the establishment of peace that our Government has been conducting for some period of time without appreciable response from Hanoi.

In my estimation, this is no time for us to engage in semantics or quibble over language. The aim is peace at the earliest time, and I hope that Hanoi and the Soviet Union, and all other parties involved, will soon make up their minds to bargain in good faith at the peace conference, and in every other way, to end the fighting and agree upon a suitable peace.

We must keep in mind that up to this time the cessation of bombing over wide strategic areas in Vietnam has not been effective in securing a sincere response from Hanoi that would move toward a real truce and sincere bargaining for peace. Meanwhile, the enemy is steadily improving his striking power and strategic position and posing fresh threats of death or serious injury to American boys and our allies.

We have repeatedly and insistently held out the olive branch of peace but, in fact, it has not been accepted by the enemy.

It is a serious question how long we could continue to stop bombing and other military operations, while the enemy maintains a stony silence to our appeals and moves for honest negotiations and peace.

How long can we wait without bringing more death and destruction to our heroic boys and those fighting gallantly with them to resist ruthless aggression and make enduring peace? How can we arrange a truce to discuss cessation of hostilities and terms of withdrawal and pacification so long as the enemy will not even answer our appeals and affirmative acts to stop the fighting?

In any event let us keep trying with all our hearts.

A PLEA TO PARTICIPATE IN DEMOCRACY

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, because I believe strongly, as I am sure every

Member of this House does, that it is important to encourage the widest possible participation in the workings of our democratic system, I am sending to the citizens of my district, without regard to their political affiliation or preference, the following message to encourage them to be sure to register and to vote in the forthcoming elections.

The message follows:

YOU CAN'T VOTE IF YOU'RE NOT REGISTERED
SEPTEMBER, 1968.

DEAR FRIEND: The freedom that we cherish in America depends on you, the individual citizen, and on your participation in our democracy.

Yet millions of Americans fail to register and vote for those who represent them in government at every level.

Whether you are a Democrat, Republican or Independent, be sure you are registered to vote. How you vote is your business, but be sure to vote!

The last day you can register is Monday, October 7.

If you are not yet registered, I urge you to do so at your county courthouse or with any legally authorized registration agent.

Sincerely,

JOHN BRADEMAs,
Member of Congress.

To be eligible to vote: 21 years of age on or before November 5, 1968. United States Citizen. Six months residence in Indiana. Sixty days residence in the township. Thirty days residence in the precinct.

Registration deadline: October 7, 1968.

Cautionary note: If you have moved within the same city, you can transfer your registration by notifying the Voter Registration Office in your county.

WHERE TO REGISTER

St. Joseph County: Bureau of Voter's Registration, Room 24, Courthouse, South Bend—Tel: 233-9307. Hours: Mon. thru Fri., 8:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

Kosciusko County: Clerk's Office, County Courthouse, Warsaw—Tel: 267-5371. Hours: Mon. thru Fri., 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Sat. 8:00 a.m. to 12 Noon.

Marshall County: County Clerk's Office, Plymouth—Tel: 936-3520 or 936-3359. Hours: Mon. thru Fri. 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Sat. 8:00 a.m. to 12 Noon.

Elkhart County: County Courthouse, Main & Lincoln Streets, Goshen—Tel: 533-4610. Hours: Mon. thru Sat. 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Closed Wed. & Sat. afternoons.

Municipal Building, Registration Office, 219 S. Second Street, Elkhart—Tel: 523-2144. Hours: Mon. thru Sat. 11 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.

NOTE: In each county you also can register with your precinct committeeman or woman, town clerk, or any other deputized registration agent.

You must register in person.

Any registered voter may send right now for his absentee ballot. Last day for making application for absentee ballot is November 2, 1968.

COLUMBUS LODGE NO. 2143 AN OUTSTANDING ORGANIZATION

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, Columbus Day, with its exciting historical implications for all Americans, will have even

deeper meaning to all in 1968, for the Congress has passed into law a long-awaited move to make Columbus Day a national holiday beginning in the year 1970.

This comes as proud news to all the wonderful Americans of Italian descent in the Second Congressional District of New York, and perhaps more so to the members of one of our country's largest, most dynamic and successful, community-minded and productive fraternal lodges in the United States.

I refer to Columbus Lodge No. 2143, Massapequa, N.Y., of the Sons of Italy in America, and to honor them and the memory of Christopher Columbus, I am pleased to submit for the RECORD a short history of this great lodge.

HISTORY OF THE FORMATION OF COLUMBUS LODGE NO. 2143, MASSAPEQUA, N.Y., OF THE ORDER SONS OF ITALY IN AMERICA

(By Dominic Baranello, Ex-Venerable)

Approximately five years ago, a small group of persons of Italian heritage were discussing the national coverage by press, radio and television which were creating a distorted image of Italian-Americans as being associated with crime and violence. We believed that there should be an organized group who would promulgate and emphasize the sterling qualities of Americans of Italian origin who constitute one of the most wholesome segments of Italian life. We know that they are peaceful, law-abiding and useful citizens, making a heroic contribution to the greatness of America, in sharp contrast to the small coterie of individuals whose misdeeds have been recited, chapter and verse, across the length and breadth of our country. We were of the opinion that America is great because it consists of a combination of the best qualities of all ethnic groups. We, who have been brought up in the pleasant homes of our parents, who were Americans of Italian origin, know of the splendid qualities which are innate in persons of Italian heritage, such as wholesomeness, family pride, industriousness and a determination to inculcate into the minds of their children ideals of service so as to become splendid American citizens.

Accordingly, we reviewed the ideals and aspirations of several organizations, and it was the opinion of our group that the Order Sons of Italy in America, which is a nationwide organization of many years standing devoted to the principles of a belief in God, of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, and to the Constitution of the United States of America, conformed to the ideals and aspirations of our proposed membership.

Various meetings were held with prominent citizens of our community in attendance, in order to develop a procedure to apply for a Charter from the Grand Lodge of the State of New York. Great assistance was rendered to us in this formative period by Joseph Nigro, Supreme Trustee; Carmine Cocchiola, Chairman of the Grand Lodge Nominating Committee; Honorable Carmine A. Ventiera, Ex-Grand Venerable of the State of New York; Gregorio Morabito, Grand Recording Secretary, and many other members of the Order.

Election of officers was held on December 4, 1963, and the following members were elected, unanimously: Venerable, P. Vincent Landi; Assistant Venerable, Angelo Roncallo; Ex-Venerable, Dominic Baranello; Orator, Gaetano Sanzone; Financial Secretary, Louis Agresta; Corresponding Secretary, Vincent J. Floriani; Treasurer, Felix Alfino; Trustees, John Muscaro, Frank Tucci, Anthony Corso, Frank Badame, Anthony Romanelli; Masters of Ceremonies, Frank DiDomenico, Joseph Cali; Sentinel, Edward Calliguri; Chaplain, Angelo Lavoro.

Application was thereafter made to the

Supreme Council of the Supreme Lodge of the Order Sons of Italy in America, after recommendation and approval of the Grand Executive Council of the State of New York, by Dominic Baranello, Angelo Roncallo and P. Vincent Landi, for a Charter to constitute a Subordinate Lodge in Massapequa, New York, under the title of Columbus Lodge #2143. Said application was granted, and the Charter was duly issued on December 12, 1963, having been signed by John Ottaviano, Jr., as Supreme Venerable; Modest Mele, Supreme Recording Secretary; Peter A. Brevett, Grand Venerable of the State of New York, and Gregorio Morabito, Grand Recording Secretary of the State of New York.

Columbus Lodge #2143 was installed at an elaborate ceremony on February 16, 1964, and approximately 300 persons initiated as members. Many officials of the Order attended and participated in the ceremony of initiation. The Sponsoring Lodge was Loggia Glen Cove #1016 of Glen Cove, New York, of which Angelo Zuccallo was the Venerable, Honorable Carmine A. Ventiera, Ex-Grand Venerable, presided, and Supreme Trustee Joseph Nigro acted as Herald.

Among the speakers who congratulated the Lodge were: Honorable Francis X. Giaccone, Ex-Grand Venerable and New York State Commissioner of Human Rights; Hon. Joseph F. Carlini, Speaker of the New York State Assembly; Honorable Joseph A. Suozzi, Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York; Hon. Carmine A. Ventiera, Administrative Judge of the Civil Court of the City of New York and Ex-Grand Venerable; Joseph Nigro, Supreme Trustee; Carmine Cocchiola, Chairman of the Nominating Committee; Angelo Zuccallo, Venerable of the Sponsoring Lodge, and many other State, County and Order Sons of Italy in America officials.

The Lodge has acquired the following committees to conduct its various activities:

Anti-Defamation, Armed Forces Welfare, Bingo, Blood Bank, Bond, Bowling, Building, By-Laws, Columbus Day Parade, Community Welfare, Credit Union, Entertainment, Hospitality, House Committee, Insurance, Journal Committee, Lapsation, Man of the Year, Membership, Memorials, Orientation of New Members, Program, Public Relations, Raffle, Scholarship, Sports Activities, Visitation to Lodges, Welfare and Youth Activities.

The Lodge has purchased a building to be used by the members, which at present has a value of approximately \$250,000. A great deal of alterations to the building have been made by the voluntary labor of our members. A portion of the building is being used by various charitable organizations, such as, senior citizens, youth activities, blood bank and bingo. The Building Committee, of which Frank Tucci and Julius Mattel are co-chairmen, has shown tremendous initiative in their plans for the building, the home of our Lodge. At least once a year, the Chairman of the Scholarship Committee arranges for an activities counsel lecture for high school students planning to attend college and also for the awarding of scholarship grants at the graduation exercises of our local high schools.

Each year a Man of the Year is selected, based upon his outstanding contribution to the community and to the Order. Since the inception of our Lodge, the following have been selected as our Men of the Year and have been suitably honored. Those selected were Raymond J. Lockhart, Supt. of Schools, Massapequa; Hon. John Volpe, Gov. of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and the Hon. Fortune Pope, Businessman and Editor of the newspaper, "Il Progresso".

The Lodge has received the splendid cooperation of our ladies who hold regular meetings to assist our Building Fund. One of the exciting features of our Lodge is our newspaper, known as the "Navigator", which is published monthly. Its first editor was

Alfonso Muscillo and its present editor is Frank DiDomenico. They both were very diligent in developing the Navigator and it is now being published on a self-supporting basis.

Together with other lodges on Long Island, Columbus Day parades have been arranged which have been a tremendous success. In some instances, as many as thirty bands have participated in the parades.

Our Lodge sponsored the formation of the Enrico Fermi Lodge of Freeport, which now has approximately 300 members and the William Paca Lodge, Lindenhurst, which presently has approximately 250 members. Prospective candidates are carefully screened by the Membership Committee prior to initiation. The present membership of our Lodge is approximately 1400 members. Our Lodge has been honored by the election at the Grand Convention of our Order of P. Vincent Landi as First Asst. Grand Venerable and Alfonso Muscillo as Grand Trustee.

The great progress of Columbus Lodge is due to the enthusiasm and cooperation of the membership and the entire Massapequa community. With God's help, we shall continue to progress during the ensuing year.

THE SOVIETS AIM AT GERMANY

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, the administration apparently believes in the old adage that "silence is golden," because silence is the only way to describe the State Department's reaction to the events leading up to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In a statement earlier this week, I pointed out that American intelligence sources must have known in advance of the invasion of Czechoslovakia and yet the public was not informed of this aggressive act until it had been virtually accomplished.

Now that the Kremlin is once again putting the pressure on West Germany it leads one to wonder if the administration will adopt an attitude of see no evil, hear no evil, or speak no evil in the event our ally, West Germany, is invaded.

Certainly, such an invasion looms as a distinct possibility, and the American people have a right to know what steps the White House is taking to prevent such an operation.

Mr. Speaker, in a recent article, my good friend, the distinguished journalist, Anthony Harrigan, described the intent of the Soviet Union in this latest power play. His analysis is not only highly perceptive and timely, but Mr. Harrigan also offers positive alternatives available to our Government in the event the Soviets decide to commit aggression in West Germany. I include the article as a part of my remarks, as follows:

THE SOVIETS AIM AT GERMANY

(By Anthony Harrigan)

While press reports dealing with the invasion of Czechoslovakia have emphasized Soviet ruthlessness and Czech misery and despair, the real meaning of the occupation may have escaped both news media commentators and the general public. It is increasingly clear that the massive Soviet troop movement should be seen as a far-ranging and daring

scheme to further alter the power balance in Europe and to intimidate and demoralize West Germany.

The most significant fact in the Czech situation is not that the Czech version of communism has been crushed by the USSR but that the Soviet regime has shifted a tremendous portion of its armed forces to the West and is now poised for a massive confrontation with the NATO countries, with the apparent aim of neutralizing the Federal Republic of Germany.

Had the Kremlin been solely concerned with bringing the Czechs back into line, it could have accomplished its goal with only a modest display of armed force—one airborne division sent to Prague, for example. Instead, the Soviets shifted an estimated 650,000 troops, or 40 divisions. This amounts to almost one-third of the Soviet Army, a massive deployment that indicates commitments to a military-political objective of major proportions.

Soviet divisions formerly stationed in Iron Curtain countries, and sent into Czechoslovakia, have been replaced in their satellite bases by fresh troops from the USSR.

This is a troop movement on the order of World War II battle operations, and obviously required months of preparation and logistics planning. It is reasonable to conclude this huge, costly operation had its inception as far back as the 1966 Warsaw Pact "October Storm" maneuvers when the Red Army practiced long-range troop deployments from the Soviet heartland.

After focusing almost entirely on the tragedy of the Czech people, European observers are waking now to the strategic significance of the invasion. Lajos Lederer, a British commentator writing from Belgrade, reports that "Yugoslav military intelligence experts believe that the Soviet reinforcements of 30 to 40 divisions are not deployed across the Carpathian Mountains into the Danube Valley simply to intimidate the Czechoslovak resistance."

The real attempt at coercion seems aimed at the Germans. Dr. Kurt Kiesinger, the German Chancellor, had no sooner protested the Soviet invasion than Moscow Radio broadcast a saber-rattling statement, saying Kiesinger's remarks "can be interpreted as a declaration of war, and the necessary consequences will be drawn from this fact in Eastern Europe."

This statement underscores the Soviet intention to use its massive new power in Central Europe to exert psychological pressure against the Germans in an effort to demoralize them so that they will break away from the West.

While there is no evidence of a failure of nerve in Germany, the NATO situation suddenly is critical. Before the Czech invasion, the Soviets had only 20 divisions deployed against Germany. Now they have 40. Moreover, for the first time since the end of World War II, Soviet troops have taken up positions on the Czechoslovak-German border. NATO faces this threat with only 24 divisions.

Dr. John Erickson of Edinburgh University, a specialist in Soviet military affairs, has concisely stated the significance of the Soviet deployment:

"The disastrous consequence of the affair is that the new Soviet posture which results from it, makes Central Europe a much more dangerous place. Russian and German-American forces which were probably several days separate from each other, could now come into an explosive contact within a few hours."

What the Soviets have done is adopt a forward strategy in Central Europe. They have moved a massive ground army into frontline positions. It would be absurd, after the fact of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, to imagine that this huge military force henceforth will only be used in bluffing operations. The indications are that Soviet military thinking envisions other invasions in

Central Europe and does not exclude a limited ground operation against West German territory.

The Soviets may be convinced that the United States would not use either tactical or strategic nuclear weapons in defense of West Germany, and lacks the ground forces to successfully counter a conventional Soviet advance against West Germany, for example.

As in so many other phases of defense thinking, the United States and its NATO allies have mistakenly assumed that the Soviets would exercise restraint if they were not provoked. One assumption was that the Soviets would not adopt a forward strategy, that they would progressively cut back on the size of their ground forces in Eastern Europe. Suddenly, however, the Soviets have escalated their military power in Europe. In recent years, the United States reduced its tactical nuclear capability in Europe, as a gesture of American restraint. Now, Soviet rocket-armed forces face U.S. and German troops in Bavaria. Meanwhile, the Soviets are taking over full command of Warsaw Pact installations, such as air defense units and radar stations in Hungary.

It is likely that the Warsaw Pact system will be completely revised, with Polish troops in Hungary and Hungarian troops in Poland—all to promote political reliability in the event of internal or external crisis.

Thus what the world sees in Czechoslovakia today is bridge-building, but not the kind envisioned by sentimentalists in the United States and Europe. For the Soviets, the bridge-building is military in character, with the bridge being constructed between the USSR and West Germany—and for military traffic to the West.

The new Soviet military presence in Central Europe is now an accomplished fact. It might have been prevented, however, had the public in the United States and free European countries been alerted to the threat of Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

A question that should be answered by responsible governmental authorities in the West is: why wasn't the public told about the invasion threat? It is impossible to believe that the Soviets moved 40 divisions, and stockpiled the necessary fuel and other supplies, without Western intelligence agencies gaining knowledge of the move.

If the White House had advance intelligence information on the invasion, why were the American people kept in the dark? And why, in the face of menacing Soviet troop movements in Europe, did the administration continue to push for the "non-proliferation" treaty that would prevent West Germany from acquiring defensive nuclear weapons to protect its frontier against Soviet aggression?

As a matter of fact, the *Sunday Times* (London) reports: "The West German intelligence agency, under its dynamic new chief, Gen. Gerhard Wessel, was among the first to present concrete evidence to the Bonn government and NATO countries that the Warsaw Pact 'maneuvers' were an elaborate cover for the full-scale invasion plan."

The United States, with its "spy in the sky" satellites, also must have information on Soviet troop movements. In addition, agents in the East Bloc, as well as electronic monitoring systems, must have produced data on invasion moves well in advance of the actual crossing of the Czech border.

Had this data been made public in Washington, worldwide protests might have deterred the Soviets from completing their military move, thereby saving the Czech people from new captivity and preventing a major alteration in the strategic balance in Europe.

Americans have reason to wonder, in view of the peculiar handling of information on the invasion of Czechoslovakia, what will happen if the Soviets prepare for a lightning assault against West Berlin. Will intelligence information be forwarded to the highest

levels and be acted upon promptly, militarily and politically, to deter the Soviets? Or will the West Berliners suffer the fate of the Czech people? Will the response from Washington again be too little and too late?

The fact that this is a pertinent question illustrates the danger of demoralization in Germany. If the West Germans should become convinced that their security won't be protected, and that West Berlin may fall as Prague fell, they may not get for Cold War neutralism that will spare them occupation by the Red Army. If this should happen, the entire framework of the free world's defense against the Soviet empire would be cracked.

For the time being, the need is for the West Germans to receive the firmest and most public assurances from Washington that strong forces of U.S. troops, including formations armed with tactical nuclear weapons, will remain on hand to prevent any breaching of the frontier.

Beyond this, however, the West Germans need a permanent guarantee of security against the immense Soviet military machine in Central Europe. For the Germans, no doubt, the most effective deterrent to general war in Europe would be possession of their own defensive, tactical nuclear weapons. A beginning could be made with installation of nuclear minefields under West German control, which would be a highly credible deterrent to a Soviet assault. Until the Soviets see the Germans equipped with the strongest defensive weapons available, they will be strongly tempted to use force against the Bonn government as they used their tank power against the wayward communists in Prague.

In view of the crisis situation now prevailing in Central Europe, and the need of the West Germans for a limited nuclear capability for effective defense, it would be tragic, not merely shortsighted, for the U.S. Senate to approve the "non-proliferation" treaty. The immediate problem for the United States, as the leader of the free world, is to strengthen NATO and apply a brake to Soviet military ambitions in Europe.

NEW CHIEF OF SCS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, Kenneth E. Grant, a career conservationist with the Soil Conservation Service, took charge of SCS work as State conservationist in my State just a few months before I was elected to the Congress in 1964.

I am delighted to note that his second promotion since he left our State in 1967 means that he will succeed Administrator D. A. Williams when he retires shortly.

I followed Ken Grant's career as State conservationist in Indiana very closely. He quickly earned a national reputation in soil and water conservation circles. He was the Department of Agriculture representative on the Ohio River Basin studies, first of its type to be completed, the Inter-Agency Committee for the Wabash River Basin, and the technical advisory committee of the Wabash Valley Interstate Commission.

And he received national attention for leadership in developing the first resource conservation and development project in the Nation—about 45 are un-

derway now—and in stimulating accelerated cooperative efforts of local, State, and Federal agencies in multipurpose watershed projects.

Mr. Grant's work in Indiana was so outstanding that he was promoted to SCS Associate Administrator in March 1967.

His performance in the SCS No. 2 post resulted in his designation as Administrator to succeed Dr. Williams.

Ken Grant's many friends and admirers in the Hoosier State are happy that his career in SCS, which began in 1946 in his native New Hampshire, has been capped by arrival at the top post in his chosen field. We wish him well.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the further rape of the peoples of Czechoslovakia by Moscow and its puppets confirms what many of us have been propounding for years; namely, the brute force of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism has been and is the chief enemy of the captive nations and the free peoples of the world. Those who have naively preached "bridges of understanding," the disintegration of the Red empire, the new breed of Russian Communists and the like should go into permanent hiding. Those who attempted to play down the 10th observance of Captive Nations Week in order not to irritate the Russians and to stay their hand as concerns Czechoslovakia are doubtlessly exuding with shame.

The Russian rape of Czechoslovakia is cause enough for a wholesale reevaluation and change of our policy in relation to the Red empire. Outstanding criticisms of the current, shortsighted policy can be found lucidly stated in the recently published book, "The Vulnerable Russians." Authored by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University, this instructive work provides all the essential outlines of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism which we now see spectacularly operating in Czechoslovakia, as in Hungary 12 years ago.

The work is now available at the Georgetown University bookstore, White Gravenor, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. The following review by Dr. José Ma. Hernandez, editor of the WACL Bulletin, a publication of the World Anti-Communist League headquartered in Seoul, Korea, amply shows the nature and worth of the book:

"THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS" BY LEV E. DOBRIANSKY: A REVIEW BY THE EDITOR, WACL BULLETIN

Men of today, and even the most reputedly intellectual of them, have taken it for granted that the Soviet Union is a monolithic empire and that it is as impregnable as a hermetically sealed bastion.

With a few bold and sharp blows Dr. Dobriansky smashes this myth of Russian monolithic inviolability. He presents facts

and figures, against which no argument to the contrary is possible, that the Russians, after all, are not invulnerable and that, in the first place there is no such thing as a Soviet Union. It is a vast charnel house where 112 million Russians hold in the hollow of one hand the fate of 122 million Non-Russian whites the "Captive Nations" groaning beneath the heel of the Soviet Communist Party.

These hapless, helpless, but not hapless hostages to fortune are being denied the basic and irreducible rights of free men by the heartless and inhuman masters of lies, deceit, intimidation, propaganda, and the *fata morgana* peaceful co-existence.

The Free World, and notably the United States of America, are now in a state of mesmeristic stupor by the Communist experts of Soviet cold war strategy and tactics, in order to drown the righteous cries and protests of the captive nations. This explains why the Captive Nations Week Resolution passed by the United States Congress in 1959 rocked the Soviet Empire to its foundations and the tremors are still being felt up to this hour. This Resolution was of such transcendental importance not only to the captive peoples under the yoke of Russian imperialism but also to the whole human race which must find in this great document the very essence of freedom without which there can be no peace on earth.

For instance, one of the most important parts of the Resolution reads: that "the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cosackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others . . ." It is quite clear that the Resolution is of tremendous significance in the history of man's struggle to be free from all sorts of bondage.

Needless to say the Resolution and the Proclamation that followed it immediately triggered a violent reaction in Communist Russia. Khrushchev went so far as to say, "The only enslaved peoples are in the capitalist countries."

Dr. Dobriansky deplors the fact that in the United States there is a great deal of misunderstanding born of naivete or rank ignorance of the real nature of the Russian Empire. This ignorance has led many Americans into a maze of tragic contradictions.

The call for peaceful co-existence by the Russian Imperialists for example, has been taken at its face value without realizing that in Communist semantics an innocent-looking flower really hides a serpent beneath it. Many persons in the free world have jumped, as a consequence, to the conclusion that Soviet Russia means peace, that Soviet Russia's magnificent obsession is to establish peace all over the world.

Some influential Americans and well-meaning Europeans have even gone to the extent of believing that Russian communism will eventually evolve into a capitalist democracy because of its apparent adoption of some of the free world's democratic economic and social measures. They point out that "the Russian doubling of the house-building rate, added investments in food production, the reduction of hours of labor, greater job mobility, the institution of installment credit, some market determination of production, the profit motive, and increases in pensions and peasant incomes" are sure indications of the Soviet Communists' true spirit of reconciliation with the democracies and the principle of free enterprise.

The author says with regard to this: "The bounds of human illusion are sometimes indefinable." The motivation behind all these seemingly progressive and evolutionary economic changes is still the acquisition of more

funds and resources to pursue Moscow's world-wide cold war operations.

The thesis of the whole book is quite clear. The free world and specially the United States of America must see through the make-believe front of Soviet Russia, must get deeply involved in the cold war, and beat Soviet Russia in her own game. The "ersatz Russian image must be destroyed." We must unmask the Russian bear and show him in his true colors. We must match his propaganda with more effective weapons of mass communication.

Dobriansky says, "On the information and propaganda front, our policy should concentrate on the captive nations, specially those in the USSR, the chief source of the world's problem on peace or war."

After building up on his thesis that Soviet Russia can be beaten at her own game, Dobriansky who is the Chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee, outlines for America and the Free World what can be done in this respect. He concludes:

"Subject to conditions, climate, and circumstances, these devices and their uses include the Kerstern freedom corps idea, a Freedom Commission and Academy, a Special Congressional Committee on the Captive Nations, a revitalized Voice of America and a Radio Liberation as propaganda media, aid to underground resistance groups, a communications network ranging from secret printing to space satellites, economic warfare, diplomatic manipulations, the U.N. forum, facilities of friendly and like-minded countries, subversion of Red control centers, utilization of labor unions, churches, veteran groups and other private channels, money counterfeiting, bribery programs and so forth. The devices are endless, and the enormous difference between our use of them and the enemy's use of some of them is that we could enlist vastly more among the captives to participate than he can among free men. Of incalculable advantage to us is the other important dimension of the Cold War, namely between the captive nations and the Red-controlled state. Building the Johnsonian bridges of understanding helps the state, not the people or nation."

This monumental, well-documented book will certainly make few eyebrows rise—that is, if they have not been completely browbeaten by the Russian Communists.

APOLLO PROGRAM STATUS REPORT

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, last weekend the Soviet Union announced the return of its unmanned spacecraft Zond 5 from an historic flight around the moon. This scientific and technological achievement brings the Soviet Union a large step closer to the landing of a man on the lunar surface.

The American space program is not wallowing in neglect. Congressional cutbacks in NASA's budget preserved the Apollo lunar landing project virtually intact. Progress continues toward reaching the goal President Kennedy set forth almost a decade ago.

On Friday, October 11, 1968, the United States will launch a crew of three astronauts into earth orbit from Cape Kennedy. Their Apollo 7 mission calls for 10 days, 19 hours and 40 minutes in low earth orbit to test the operations and capabilities of the command service module. This section of the spacecraft when coupled with the lunar excursion module

will provide the actual vehicle for our astronauts to use in traveling to the moon.

Late in December 1968, Apollo 8 is scheduled for launch. The Saturn V rocket will undergo its first manned flight then. Exact plans for the mission have not been formulated yet. They are contingent upon the results from Apollo 7, and upon the decision of whether or not to attempt a 4,000-mile earth orbit with that shot. In the first quarter of 1969, the lunar excursion module will fly aboard a second Saturn V booster. If all goes well, Apollo Missions 8, 9, and 10 will set the stage for a lunar landing on Apollo 11 before the end of calendar year 1969.

I would like to call the attention of my colleagues in the House to the following summary of the latest progress being made in preparation for these important Apollo launches:

APOLLO STATUS SUMMARY

APOLLO 7

The space vehicle Flight Readiness Test, one of the final major milestones in preparations for the Apollo 7 mission, is underway at Kennedy Space Center. The test is scheduled to reach time zero at 8:00 a.m., EDT on Friday, September 27. The prime crew of Astronauts Walter M. Schirra, Jr., Donn F. Elisele and Walter Cunningham will participate in the test in a shirtsleeve atmosphere, without space suits. The hatch will remain open.

The test schedule calls for checks of the major abort modes used in the mission as well as simulated liftoff and some six hours of plus time. The test will be followed by a data review and preparations for spacecraft hypergolic loading, scheduled for next week.

APOLLO 8

The spacecraft has been removed from the vacuum chamber and moved to a test stand in the high bay of the Manned Spacecraft Operations Building for a series of Service Propulsion System (SPS) engine modifications and checks which will continue into next week.

Manned altitude runs were successfully completed in the Apollo 8 spacecraft in the Kennedy Space Center vacuum chamber last weekend. The prime crew of Astronauts Frank Borman, James Lovell and William Anders spent some 13½ hours in the spacecraft on Friday, September 20. The backup crew of Astronauts Neil Armstrong, Edwin E. Aldrin and Fred W. Haise, Jr., completed their run in 10½ hours on Sunday, September 22.

The Apollo 8 launch vehicle is undergoing checkout in high bay #1 of the Vehicle Assembly Building, Complex 39. Modification work is scheduled this week. Sequence malfunction checks and swing arm verification will be conducted next week. Thermal insulation installation of the first stage F-1 engines is continuing.

APOLLO/SATURN 504

Lunar module #3—Manned altitude runs in the Kennedy Space Center vacuum chamber scheduled this week are Run #3 for the back-up crew and Run #4 for the prime crew. The first of four manned runs was completed on Saturday, September 21, with back-up Commander Charles Conrad, Jr., and backup Lunar Module Pilot Alan L. Bean participating. A second run with the prime crew Commander James A. McDivitt and Lunar Module Pilot Russell L. Schweickert aboard was completed on Monday, September 24.

The first stage of the fourth Saturn V launch vehicle left Michoud at 7:00 a.m. September 24 aboard the NASA Barge "Orion" for the Florida launch site. It is to arrive at the Kennedy Space Center, Friday, Septem-

ber 27. The instrument unit will be shipped from the Marshall Space Flight Center September 30 aboard the Super Guppy aircraft.

The second and third stages of the A/S 504 launch vehicle are in work cells in the low bay of the Vehicle Assembly Building undergoing preerection checkout.

SATURN V TEST

S-II-6, the second stage for the sixth Saturn V vehicle, is scheduled to undergo acceptance testing October 1 at the Manned Space Flight Center Mississippi Test Facility. It will be fired for the flight duration of about six minutes.

DEVELOPMENT TESTS

Lunar Module Test Article Eight (LTA-8) is being readied for a series of manned vacuum chamber tests at MSC beginning in mid-October.

A total of five manings is planned in two test phases to be conducted in Chamber B of MSC's Space Environment Simulation Laboratory. Dry runs are scheduled this week and next to checkout test procedures.

The tests will subject the lunar module to a simulated space environment in order to help verify the vehicle for lunar landing missions. A similar series of manned tests at MSC May 27-June 1, 1968, helped clear the way for manned Earth-orbital flights with the Apollo Lunar Module.

Gruddman Aircraft Engineering Corporation consulting pilots Gerald Gibbons and Glennon Kingsley will be prime crewmen for the vacuum chamber tests, which are scheduled to be completed early in November, and Astronaut James Irwin will serve as a back-up crewman. Irwin and Gibbons were prime crewmen and Kingsley was a backup crewman for the previous series of LTA-8 chamber tests.

LTA-8 has been modified since its previous vacuum chamber test to incorporate the latest type of thermal insulation and surface coating. The vehicle is constructed of the same basic materials and contains most of the same equipment, displays and systems as LM's to be used for manned landings on the Moon. LTA-8 is not equipped with active propulsion systems since rocket engines cannot be fired in the vacuum chamber.

SOVIET THREAT TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, much is being written concerning events in the Middle East—but relatively little about the causes of the explosive situation in that area.

Why is there so little reference to the long-range objectives of the U.S.S.R. with respect to the Middle East? The goal of the Soviet Union is to control the military, economic, and political destiny of that crucial region. The Russians make no bones about it. They want to play the same role in the Middle East as they do today in Eastern Europe.

How do they propose to achieve that objective?

In many ways. While the United States remains preoccupied with efforts to bring peace to the Far East—while many other countries recoil at Soviet actions in Czechoslovakia—the Russians are: Entering into agreements with the nations of the Middle East, supplying them with military and economic aid; building gas and oil pipelines connecting the Soviet

Union with that region; furnishing arms to several Arab States; prospecting for oil; securing drilling and oil refinery concessions; promoting economic development projects; and concluding various barter agreements.

In addition, the Soviets are endeavoring to: Maintain a sizable, modern fleet in the Mediterranean; make arrangements with the Western European countries for the delivery of 48-inch diameter pipe and other vital equipment; increase the scope and the substance of their bilateral trade agreements; tighten up the restraints on East Europe's expanding trade with the West; render Eastern Europe increasingly dependent on the Soviet economy; acquire control over strategic components of Europe's energy resources; become the keeper of the "Gateway to the East"—the Suez Canal and the eastern Mediterranean region; and, ultimately, replace the United States and other oil companies in the Middle East.

In light of this evidence, should the policy of the United States revolve around the question of sending a handful of planes to besieged Israel, or should we rather face up to the increasing Soviet penetration of the Middle East and try to cope with the real threat to peace and Israel's security? Unless we put an end to the Communist exploitation of the age-old conflicts, animosities, and insecurities prevalent in the Middle East, we will never see lasting peace in that region—or succeed in securing the primary source of Western Europe's energy resources.

Some candidates for national public office are also giving vent to their views. This may be a popular issue—but the discussion remains shallow and not very productive.

In addressing ourselves to this problem, could we not suggest some effective international arrangements to guarantee the security of the national frontiers in the Middle East—international cooperation and aid in solving that region's economic problems—and internationally accepted restraints on the shipment of arms to that area?

A peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict remains our prime objective. We must energetically pursue this goal.

HERMAN ROSANETZ AIDS THE AGED

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, my constituent, Herman Rosanetz, has been diligent in his service to our aged citizens.

Some of the press comments with respect to his labors in this area are hereafter set forth:

[From the World Journal Tribune,
Oct. 12, 1956]

HE WON SECURITY FOR MOM

(By Marianne Cole)

Early next month there will be a special day for Sarah Rosanetz, a 75-year-old widow

living at 68 E. Third St. It will be the day she receives her first \$35-a-month Social Security check.

What makes Mrs. Rosanetz's case so special is that her son, Herman, is largely responsible for the fact that his mother can collect benefits for the first time in her life even though she never worked under Social Security.

He campaigned for eight years in the face of persistent discouragement for the legislation that makes it possible for citizens over 72 to collect without having made Social Security contributions.

Previously, these senior citizens could not qualify unless they had a minimum of six calendar quarters credit.

WIDOWED MOTHER

Herman Rosanetz, a 46-year-old shipping clerk, was only six when his father died. His brother, Asher, was four. Mrs. Rosanetz took home work from the tie industry to support herself and her two youngsters. When Herman was 10 he got an after-school job as an errand boy to help out.

A bachelor, Rosanetz is now sole support of his aged mother—at least, until she gets her first government check.

Over an eight-year period Rosanetz wrote hundreds of letters and made countless trips to Washington. He appeared before the Ways and Means Committee, of which Rep. Eugene J. Keogh, D., Bklyn., is a member.

DILIGENT SERVICE

Last month Rosanetz received a letter from Keogh stating: "I want you to know that I know of no one who more diligently pursued the cause of those over 72 years who were not previously covered by Social Security."

The amendment for which he campaigned was passed by Congress last March and went into effect the first day of this month. Checks will be mailed around Nov. 3.

Persons who will be 72 this month or who are over 72 and who have applied for hospital insurance should have been contacted by their Social Security offices about the special benefits. Those who have not applied for Medicare should get in touch with their Social Security offices for information.

[From the East Side News, July 15, 1966]
EAST SIDER WINS SOCIAL SECURITY BATTLE FOR
AGED CITIZENS OVER 72

East Side News extends congratulations to an East Side resident who labored most diligently and without any cooperation from any organization or individual to obtain an amendment to the Social Security Act permitting citizens over 72 years of age to receive monthly payments, even though they had not made any social security contributions.

He is no other than Herman Rosanetz, who resides at 68 E. 3rd Street. For eight long, tedious years, and in the face of persistent discouragement, he labored on in the belief that his cause was just.

During that period, Mr. Rosanetz had appeared before the Congressional Committee on Ways and Means and before the joint meeting of the Board of Estimate and the Finance Committee of the City Council, pointing out that citizens over 72 had long been forgotten and that it was high time that they should be covered by Social Security.

The amendment for which he had campaigned is now part of Section 228 of the Social Security Act. Those citizens who have not made any contributions to the Social Security Fund may visit, if they wish, their nearest Social Security office on Aug. 1 to file an application to receive benefits of \$35 a month. However, if these aged citizens had applied for Medicare, which most of them have done, the Social Security office will obtain the necessary information from their applications.

It must be remembered, however, that if the aged citizens are receiving in one way or another government pensions they are not eligible to receive Social Security benefits.

This special amendment goes into effect on Oct. 1 of this year. Checks will be mailed around Nov. 3.

Mr. Rosanetz is not yet satisfied with such a small monthly benefit. He has asked President Johnson to recommend to the Congress in January of 1967 larger Social Security benefits by using general revenues of the United States Government. He believes that these elderly citizens should receive \$200 a month instead of \$35. He is hopeful that the President will see the light and adopt his proposal.

He deserves the gratitude of the American people for a task well accomplished. East Side News agrees with Mr. Rosanetz that no aged person in our rich land should live in poverty.

As one who has introduced and sponsored legislation for our senior citizens, I am pleased to acknowledge the work done by Mr. Rosanetz.

WIDNALL QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, in May of this year, I polled 145,000 households in my district, the Seventh District of New Jersey, on spending priorities for Federal Government programs. Considering the number of appropriation measures which are still a matter of debate for the Congress, I believe the results of this poll would be very useful to my colleagues in this evaluation.

The first question which I asked, dealt with a program known as the human renewal program which more than 70 of my Republican colleagues here in the House suggested in March of this past year. It suggested a list of immediate budget deferrals, a net cut of over \$4 billion in Federal expenditures, and a redirection of several billion dollars to problems involving vocational education, low-income housing, water and air pollution control, job training, crime control, and an urban reserve fund. The support for this type of an approach, as the results indicate, was overwhelming.

Second, I listed 17 program areas and asked my constituents if they preferred to see more, less, or about the same amount of Federal funds spent in these areas. The list, which I will submit for the RECORD shows the areas in order of priorities, with air and water pollution control, education, help for the elderly, job training, and slum clearance leading the field, and space exploration, SST development, subsidies for agriculture and foreign aid trailing far behind in this list of preferences.

I include at this point a section of my Newsletter of May 1968, dealing with the human renewal fund, and the results of my questionnaire:

[Excerpts from the Widnall Newsletter,
May 1968]

A PROGRAM FOR HUMAN RENEWAL

In March, I joined with seventy House Republican colleagues in calling for immediate deferrals of \$6.6 billion in federal expendi-

tures to meet a growing economic crisis, and a reordering of national priorities to redirect \$2.5 billion of this savings to meet urgent human needs here at home. Unlike the usual generalized calls for cutbacks or increases in expenditures we made specific program and budgetary recommendations.

The table below illustrates our proposed reordering of priorities. We have moved to implement these recommendations through manpower and employment incentive bills, which I have co-sponsored, seeking to mobilize private industry, through tax credits, to train the hard core unemployed and those whose skills need upgrading, for existing jobs. We also call for increased vocational educational and technical training, as well as a job inventory, to match existing unused skills with existing unfilled jobs nationally.

[Figures in dollars]

Urban reserve fund (to be allocated)	billion..	1
Jobs	million..	500
Vocational education	million..	250
Housing	million..	250
Pollution control	million..	250
Crime	million..	100
Rural revitalization	million..	100
District of Columbia	million..	50

New housing funds would utilize the existing rent certificate or leased public housing program which I authorized in 1965, and the National Home Ownership Foundation Act, if enacted, proposed by Senator Charles Percy of Illinois and me. Leased public housing, utilizing privately owned housing on a voluntary basis, provides immediate decent shelter to our low income citizen at far less cost than conventional Government housing programs, while keeping property on local tax rolls. The home ownership program would utilize private organizations and private capital, backed by a Federal guarantee, with a repayable interest subsidy, to provide home ownership opportunities for lower income families, increasing community responsibility and stability.

Our special Task Force on Crime has made recommendations in five specific areas for increasing efforts against crime. I have sponsored an increase in the authorization for water and sewer facility assistance, badly needed among Bergen County communities. Another bill we have offered seeks to provide incentives for industrial development in rural areas to stem the flow of the unemployed to the cities.

The list below details proposed expenditure cuts. We have cut \$71 million from the Post Office and Treasury Department Appropriations bill. The Appropriations Committee has cut \$45 million from the Appalachia program and \$100 million from the National Science Foundation budget, and the President has deferred new construction on public buildings. Our greatest success has been in the space program, where a total of \$380 plus million of our \$400 million proposed cut has been achieved.

It is not our intention to rule out other responsible budget cuts, or to ignore other possibilities for meeting human needs. Our hope is to stimulate action and debate that will be responsive both to the economic needs of our nation and of our less fortunate citizens, in light of an intolerable budget deficit and limited resources. Your reaction to this approach, and additional suggestions which you may have, which can be recorded on the questionnaire below, would be helpful and welcome.

Immediate budget deferrals

60-percent reduction of military personnel in Europe..	\$2,080,000,000
Supersonic transport (except R. & D.)	222,000,000
Defense-supported arms sales abroad	200,000,000
Civilian space program	400,000,000
Highway beautification	85,000,000

Immediate budget deferrals—Continued

Longworth House Office Building renovation	\$6,058,000
Madison Library	2,500,000
Government Printing Office Building (site acquisition and design)	2,500,000
USDA (\$10,000 maximum subsidy limit per farm)	410,000,000
Freeze on moderate- to high-income apartment programs	400,000,000
Foreign aid	700,000,000
Forest roads construction (50 percent new)	45,790,000
Arts and Humanities Foundation	9,800,000
Public buildings (site acquisition and planning)	5,497,000
Public information	100,000,000
Post office buildings (50 percent unobligated NOA)	26,121,000
Freeze on Government civilian employment at 97 percent	961,000,000
National Science Foundation	250,000,000
Forest highways (50-percent new construction)	15,000,000
Earth description and mapping (50 percent NOA)	6,750,000
President's contingency reserve (1968 level)	400,000,000
Public works (20-percent stretchout)	200,000,000
Appalachia (1968 level)	86,900,000
Total	6,614,916,500

RESULTS OF WIDNALL QUESTIONNAIRE,
MAY 1968

1. Would you support a program that would accomplish both a net reduction in expenditures and a reordering of spending priorities similar to the "human renewal" program approach discussed above?

	Percent
Yes	67
No	8
No opinion	25

2. What priorities in each of the following areas would you establish with reference to whether the Federal Government should spend more, less, or about the same next year as was spent last year?

[In percent]

	More	Less	Same
1. Air and water pollution control ..	71	6	23
2. Education	57	12	31
3. Help for the elderly	54	10	36
4. Job training	55	14	31
5. Slum clearance	49	19	32
6. Hospital and health care	44	16	40
7. Commuter rail transportation ..	43	17	40
8. Help for the needy	45	21	34
9. Low income housing	45	23	32
10. Parks, recreation, and conservation	38	18	44
11. Highway construction	31	26	43
12. National defense	20	30	50
13. Public works	19	44	37
14. Space exploration	10	63	27
15. SST development	10	69	21
16. Subsidies for agriculture	5	78	17
17. Foreign aid	3	84	13

HUMPHREYISM NO. 3

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 27, 1968

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I submit Humphreyism No. 3 for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

From a collection of Representative HENRY C. SCHADEBERG, Republican of Wisconsin.

"I'm going to run for President on the record of this Democrat Administration." (Denver, Colo., May 8, 1968.)

PUBLIC EXPECTS ADEQUATE
RAILROAD SERVICE

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Anthony Haswell, executive director of the National Association of Railroad Passengers, has written a most interesting article for the Passenger Train Journal, which I think will be of interest to my colleagues. Mr. Haswell points out that while the railroads seek public support and understanding of the problems of railroads, they are at the same time seeking to end passenger service and are putting many of their assets into non-railroad enterprises. Mr. Haswell argues that the railroads deserve fair treatment from the Government, which heavily subsidizes railroad transportation competitors. But the public has a right to expect adequate service from the railroads which seek its support.

PROMOTION OF WHAT?

(By Anthony Haswell, executive director, National Association of Railroad Passengers)

Much has been said in recent years about the plight of the railroads vis-a-vis their competitors in terms of taxation and government financial assistance. Some critics of the railroads believe that an important cause of the problem is that railroads are not nearly so aggressively "promoted"—both inside and outside of government—as are highways, automobiles, airports, airlines and waterways. According to this thesis, if railroads were adequately promoted, the end result would be a fair shake from government, enabling them to compete effectively and provide the modern, up-to-date freight and passenger service that everybody wants.

Recently the industry has taken two tangible steps to remedy the alleged promotional deficiency. One was their successful support of the establishment of the Federal Railroad Administration within the Department of Transportation, a policy making, promotional unit that is hoped to do the same for the railroads as the Bureau of Public Roads and the Federal Aviation Administration have done for so many years for highways and air transport. Second, rail leaders are pleading with their friends such as railfan groups to help gain public sympathy for railroad problems and appreciation of the value of railroads to the country.

So far, so good. But the railroad companies want to increase their profits, while the public wants better train service—that is, full development of the inherent advantages of railroads for the benefit of shippers and travelers. These objectives are in serious conflict, for rail management has determined that the surest, quickest route to increased profits is thru curtailment of passenger service and thru massive investment of assets in other modes of transportation and in non-transport enterprises—assets that would otherwise be available for improving and modernizing both freight and passenger service.

Promotion of railroad financial interests as determined by management rather than better service for the public, is clearly the approach taken by the Federal Railroad Ad-

ministration. It has said not one word of criticism of railroad investment in outside enterprises, and is publicly in favor of permitting railroads to discontinue any passenger service they see fit. At the same time, the railroads seek to persuade their friends on the outside to promote train discontinuances and outside investments on the ground that such policies will result in better service. Fortunately, enough of us have read *Alice in Wonderland*.

We do not begrudge railroad security owners of a fair return on their investment. Indeed, we believe that were railroads treated equally by government with regard to other modes, they would be able to provide excellent freight and passenger service and earn a handsome profit. We stand ready to assist the railroads in any possible way in solving their fundamental problems. But we must reject their plea that we "promote" programs designed to increase their profits without regard to whether the public interest will be served thereby. And we object to a tax-supported government agency lending its assistance in this direction.

[Correct to September 6, 1968]
NEWS SHORTS

The Interstate Commerce Commission has ordered the Penn Central to keep the Chicago to New York "Admiral" and the Pittsburgh to Chicago "Fort Pitt" running. Citing the railroad's arbitrary removal of mail and express from these trains to freights, the ICC said that any losses incurred by the trains were precipitated by the railroad. . . . The ICC also ordered the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad to stay in the passenger business by ordering the "Danville Flyer" to remain in operation. The C&E's "Flyer" (a two coach, buffet-lounge train) was hailed by the Commission as superior to alternative transportation in the area. . . .

Grand Trunk-Canadian National is working on a plan with Greyhound Lines (and perhaps one or more airlines) whereby interline ticketing could be performed by either company. GT-CN is afraid they will be left high and dry by some of their American rail connections, and so are taking proper precautionary actions. GT's westbound "Maple Leaf" may be rescheduled to arrive in Chicago earlier in order to make major westbound rail connections. Also, the Grand Trunk is adding a new stop: East Lansing, Mich. Trains will stop on Fridays and Sundays for the convenience of Michigan State University's 40,000 students.

Seaboard Coast Line wishes to end the Atlanta-Jacksonville remains of the "Dixie Flyer" as well as the local Washington to Jacksonville "Sunland". Baltimore & Ohio will end St. Louis-Cincinnati service on the "Metropolitan" (coach-only) on Sept. 12, leaving only the "George Washington" on that run. Burlington seeks to end the Alliance-Billings coach train it now operates through the Nebraska-Montana foothills, as well as the "Nebraska Zephyr" between Galesburg, Illinois and Lincoln, Nebraska.

As expected, Southern Pacific moved to end the "Cascade." Public hearings have been scheduled and a bitter fight will no doubt ensue. The "Cascade" is a vital link between GN, NP, UP and ATSF, the cutting of which would harm transcontinental service.

The Illinois Central's application for new electric commuter equipment is now in Washington awaiting approval. Quick action could give IC's commuters a break by the Fall of 1969. The cars will be electric bi-levels, a unique type of rail equipment. They will be air-conditioned and radio-equipped and will differ from other gallery suburban cars by having the engineer on the lower level (the pantograph occupies the upper space at the end of the car) and a small door at the cab end of the car in addition to the main center doors.

THE ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM GETS RESULTS

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to say a few words about Leonardo Vega, a recent Job Corps graduate who hails from Nogales, Ariz. Mr. Vega has recently acquired his first job, thanks to his Job Corps experience and a new program initiated by the International Brotherhood of Carpenters. He is one of three young men from the Timberlake Job Corps Center at Ripplebrook, Oreg., to be selected for apprenticeship as a carpenter in Portland, Oreg. Mr. Vega is employed by the W. C. Silvers Co. of Portland.

The carpenter's union, under contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity, conducts preapprenticeship training in 14 Job Corps centers across the Nation. These programs enable young men like Mr. Vega to graduate from the Job Corps with ready employment in carpentry. This relationship between OEO's Job Corps and the International Brotherhood of Carpenters is indeed praiseworthy. I am pleased to know that this fine young man from Arizona is able to benefit from it.

I would like to include at this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, an article carried in the September 4 Oregonian which further discusses this valuable program in which Leonardo Vega is enrolled:

JOB CORPS GRAD NOW APPRENTICE CARPENTER

An 18-year-old Job Corps youngster was working at his first job Monday—thanks to a new apprenticeship program initiated by the International Brotherhood of Carpenters.

Newest apprentice carpenter in the Portland area is Leonardo Vega of Nogales, Ariz., who until a week ago was a member of the Timberlake Job Corps Center at Ripplebrook in Clackamas County.

Vega and two other center youths recently qualified for apprenticeship following three months of intensive training by the Carpenters' Union.

The training program is part of a contract the carpenters have with the U.S. Department of Labor, U.S. Forestry Service and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Under it, Job Corps youngsters such as Vega are given both classroom and on-the-job training. The program is supervised by Charles Miller, coordinator for the carpenters.

Lyle Hiller, international carpenters representative, observed that the union has placed its pre-apprenticeship training program in 14 Job Corps Centers across the nation.

"It's great for the youngsters," he said. "It gives disadvantaged boys a trade for life."

"The union benefits by obtaining competent apprentices trained in our own methods. There is a major need for new carpenters throughout the country—and this program is helping to provide many of them for the expanding construction industry."

Vega, who is working on the new Bank of California building, at SW Broadway and Washington Street, was hired by the W. C. Silvers Co., general contractors, at a starting wage of \$3.37 an hour.

How does he like the job?

"It's wonderful," he said. "I like it very much. And I particularly like becoming an Oregonian."

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS A. LERNER

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Louis A. Lerner, executive vice president and general manager of the Lerner Home Newspapers in Chicago testified earlier today before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee on the Failing Newspaper Act.

Mr. Lerner represents the largest weekly chain in America and because of the huge success of his papers, he knows well the problems the small newspaper publisher faces in America.

Louis Lerner, several years ago inherited the serious responsibility of running the Lerner chain of newspapers following the death of his father, Leo A. Lerner, who founded the Lerner Home Newspapers.

Leo Lerner was a giant among American journalists. His ability to grasp the true meaning of our democracy and to translate into words the yearnings and the longings of her people for human dignity was a source of inspiration to all of us on Chicago's Northwest side.

But Leo Lerner's fame was not limited to the Northwest side of Chicago. Over the years he developed a strong following for his philosophies and ideologies among serious thinkers all over this country and in many parts of the world.

Louis Lerner, the son, today runs the Lerner newspapers in the same spirit of fairness and dedication laid down by his late father.

It is for this reason that I particularly respect the statement made before the Judiciary subcommittee today by Mr. Louis Lerner. Obviously, we cannot take lightly the serious message Mr. Lerner presented to the committee regarding the legislation at hand.

I am placing his statement in its entirety in the RECORD so that my colleagues can appreciate the depth of understanding Louis Lerner has applied to this legislation.

I trust my colleagues can better understand the purport of this legislation by reading carefully Mr. Lerner's excellent statement which follows:

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS A. LERNER, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5 OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee: I am the Executive Vice President and General Manager of forty-one community and suburban newspapers in the Chicago metropolitan area. These newspapers are, according to Bryce W. Rucker of Southern Illinois University in his new book, *The First Freedom*, the largest single group of urban and suburban newspapers in the United States. Our newspapers cover an area where more than one million people live.

The total circulation of the Lerner Home Newspapers group is 326,000. We have papers on the street five days a week. The largest paper has a circulation of 54,000, and the smallest only 1,600. Of this total, 65% is paid in advance, and the balance is delivered free or on a voluntary paid basis. Our newspaper organization is bigger than 80% of the daily newspapers in America.

We cover suburbs and cities, single family

residences and large apartments, areas in need of urban renewal, and Chicago's famous Lake Shore Drive. We have a different paper for the predominantly Greek-German community of Ravenswood, and a different newspaper for the Irish-Jewish community of Rogers Park. We have a different newspaper for the Gold Coast, and a different one for the high-rise suburbs of Skokie, Lincolnwood, Glenview and Des Plaines.

There are more than 250 community and suburban papers in the Chicago area, and every one of them strives to do just this.

It is important for a newspaper to serve the interests of the local community in which it is published. It must, of course, lead the community and not follow it. This we try to do through the confidence of the neighborhood and through this rather complex and interrelated system of different papers for different communities within the city of Chicago and for the suburbs.

Our editorial direction does not change, however. What we believe in, we believe in in all 41 newspapers. We do not have, like some large daily chain publishers, one editorial policy in the north and another in the south.

It seems to me that those who are behind this bill think that there is only one medium in any city worth talking about—the daily newspaper. This is, of course, utter nonsense. There are many different media with great importance: radio, television, the weekly newspaper, the suburban newspaper, the shopping guide—everything has something to offer in terms of communication. Can it be said that the daily newspaper is the only one needing special legislation?

The daily newspaper as an institution is hide bound in tradition and is moribund in its thinking. As a matter of fact, even the spokesman for the daily publishers, the American Newspaper Publishers Association, has warned that there may not be a daily newspaper as we know it thirty years from now.

But whose fault is this? Why does this industry need separate legislation to protect itself from itself?

Let's look at some comparable circulation figures which I think would serve to illustrate my point. My figures are taken from the 1962 edition of Editor and Publisher Yearbook and from the 1968 edition. In 1961, the Chicago Daily News had a circulation of 515,000. In 1967, they had a circulation of 462,000. In 1961, the Chicago Tribune had a circulation of 854,000. In 1967, it had a circulation of 805,000. The Milwaukee Journal had a circulation in 1961 of 372,000. Last year the circulation was 368,000. These are just some examples of something that is happening in many parts of the country, and this is not necessarily due to the problems presented to this Committee and the solving of those problems thereof through the bill in question.

Who says that the future must be in the form of the daily newspaper? There are many different things on the horizon, and certainly the form of this decaying institution will change. Why must this bill save the daily newspaper publishers from themselves? Why not, for example, a special bill for blacksmiths, for crystal set makers or isenglass manufacturers?

The suburban phenomenon in newspapers is nothing new. It has been in full blast since the end of World War II. Why then all of a sudden are the daily newspapers finding it necessary to start moving in on the suburban weekly publishers? Because they finally woke up, because they finally saw what was happening.

How can we compete with the big daily newspapers? It's not easy, but we still manage to do almost six million dollars a year in volume, just a small portion of what papers like ours take in as a whole in the Chicago area.

The Chicago daily newspapers have four different methods that they use to compete with the suburban and community newspaper publisher. Method one will be covered by Stuart Paddock, and that regards the establishment of a new daily newspaper owned by the downtown daily and fed by them through transfusion in a local area.

Method number two is the method which is used by the Chicago Daily News and the Chicago Sun-Times, also Field Enterprise operations. They zone their advertising into north, south, west, and northwest areas of the city and suburbs. This special section takes advertising out of these areas and puts no local news (except for bride's pictures) back into these communities. What they are doing is insidious. They are taking the advertising base and giving very little in return. We think that when you take dollars out of a community, you have to put news back in.

Method number three, and method number four, are both used by the Chicago Tribune. It is interesting to note, by the way, that there are other Tribune-owned newspapers in Chicago; the Chicago American does no zoning whatsoever, and it is the only daily newspaper in Chicago which does not.

Method three is a zone section, similar to that used by the Sun-Times and Daily News, broken down into north, northwest, south, southwest, and west areas of the city and suburbs. This is included as a part of the Chicago Tribune, and is called the neighborhood news section. The areas which are covered by the Tribune are extremely vast in the territory they cover. For example, the north area goes from downtown Chicago to the Wisconsin state line. The Tribune, however, does give the readers some news of the area, but of course the area covered is huge, and so it does not get down to covering the specifics in the detail which we think is necessary.

Method number four is used by the Tribune in the following manner. They have started a new newspaper and have bought a commercial printer in the Chicago suburb of Hinsdale, which is west of the city. They have started a three day a week tabloid newspaper called "The Trib". This paper is distributed on a "piggy-back" basis, along with the Chicago Tribune. They cover the news in many areas on a more detailed basis than the overall neighborhood news or metropolitan zone edition does. They still, of course, cover a much broader area than the community or suburban paper involved.

This is the newest method used, and one which may be, in the long run, the most effective, although, at this time, no one can be sure.

As I said before, when you take the dollars out of a community, you have to put news back in. Unfortunately, all of the daily newspapers do not feel this way. If HR 19123 were to pass, the predatory practices of the daily newspaper could take many communities and strip them almost completely clean of any meaningful news about these neighborhoods. We think that newsprint should be spent on news and not on promotional gimmicks. Some newspapers are almost as bad as your local gas station.

So, then, the daily newspaper in format and tradition is not geared to the problems and the solutions that we need today.

The daily newspaper industry has found out a few things, however. A revolution in production via offset printing, for example, was pioneered by the weekly press in America, and the daily papers, bogged down by the tremendous investment in letterpress equipment and their lack of interest in change, are just now reaping the benefits.

Let me say that our newspapers are 100% union. We have the Printing Pressmen, the Newspaper Guild, the Mailers, the Teamsters, and the International Typographical Union. We have been able to make the new processes

in offset and computer typesetting work and work well. As a matter of fact, we have just finished installing a computer with the full cooperation of the union. It is interesting to note that we have been able to make this work successfully but many daily newspapers have not, and apparently, because of their short-sightedness, they need a special bill passed for them.

We were among the first in the United States to go into the production of an offset newspaper. No one offered us a special bill if we would fail, and as a matter of fact, those were the predictions at the time.

The daily newspapers too have started to move out into other fields. The Kansas City Star owns a printer in the suburbs of Chicago. The Field Enterprises and the Tribune Company have gone into the commercial printing business. The Milwaukee Journal has bought a large commercial printer in Wisconsin. The Los Angeles Times is a story unto itself.

Many weekly publishers, including ourselves, make things a lot easier by the outside printing they do. Should the daily newspaper take this end over as well? Should the injection of more dollars into an area by a monopoly paper drive out the weekly paper and the commercial printer and other medium who has been there for years? I have no objection to competition on a profitable, costed, legitimate basis. But to accumulate profits through anti-trust exemptions and then move in does something to the law of competition as I think most of us understand it.

I would suggest that any daily newspaper publisher who owns any other enterprises, such as encyclopedias, educational or scientific organizations, outside printing plants, radio stations or television stations, be required to divest themselves of these so that we can get a true picture of what the newspaper itself is doing. I think that this would be an interesting thing to see even today. Cash conquers all, think the daily newspaper publishers, and no matter what the community thinks or needs, cash shall overcome.

What is needed in this newspaper business on all levels, daily and weekly, is thought, imaginative vision, and appreciation of the problems of the future and the industry. What is not needed is the carte blanche this bill will give the daily newspapers.

When we are asked who our competition is in Chicago, our answer is simply: "The Chicago daily newspapers." We compete for ads, we compete for readers, we compete for circulation. I am happy to say that in many areas we have them beaten. I want to give a few small examples.

About six months ago, our newspapers talked to Congressman Roman Pucinski, and he told us of President Johnson sending a foreign emissary to Hanoi to explore North Viet Nam's terms for entering peace talks and to tell Ho Chi Minh that we would stop bombing that country if Ho would promise not to increase infiltration in South Viet Nam. We ran this story on Sunday, February 11. The New York Times broke it on Tuesday, February 13. If the Lerner papers had not been covering a local congressman speaking off the cuff, that story would never have come out as it did. I am happy to say we were 48 hours ahead of the country.

On the same page, however, to go from the national to the local, is a story about a baby park that belonged to a lovely old lady who is now in a rest home. Her nephew had been anxious to sell it to clear up her estate. This small baby park was owned by the family, and the city had just leased it for many years. One morning, one of our reporters went by and noticed that it had a for sale sign on it. We got on the story right away, and after some months, through the work that our newspapers did, we were able to have the Chicago Park District buy this small baby lot.

Would the daily newspaper operate on this level? I think not, and therefore it is more important that papers like ours continue instead of leaving it all to Big Brother.

However, in a number of ways we aren't as lucky. For example, after the Tribune Company bought the American some years ago, they dropped Drew Pearson. We carried the Pearson column for a number of years on an exclusive basis in Chicago. One Friday morning as I was driving to work I heard on the radio a promotional ad for the Chicago Daily News that they were now going to carry the Pearson column starting the following Monday. I called John Osenenko at the Bell-McClure Syndicate and asked them exactly what happened, and their answer was: "Well, of course we wanted a daily outlet so we dropped your papers." They did say, of course, that we could continue to handle the column if we wanted to, but obviously we didn't care then. This is, I think, an example of the high-handed way in which the syndicates operate in collusion with the daily newspapers.

In addition to that, the weekly newspaper has a serious problem with cooperative advertising. In direct violation of the intent of Congress, many companies insist through their agent, the Advertising Checking Bureau of New York, that they cannot place their advertising in anything except the daily newspapers, or that they cannot place their advertising in anything except the newspapers audited by the Audit Bureau of Circulation. This is fairly common, but no one has told them to stop.

For example, according to a letter from the Advertising Checking Bureau to one of our advertisers: "Most co-op plans today stipulate that the Advertising Checking Bureau daily and Sunday newspaper automatically qualify, and other papers will be considered only if the dealer submits a request in advance of his advertising." This certainly seems to be a violation of the Clayton and Robinson-Patman Acts, and I believe this is a matter for the Attorney General and the Federal Trade Commission to investigate.

Let's take a hypothetical situation, in a suburb which is growing, and that the daily papers have had its eyes on for years without knowing how to get into it. One of the giants of the daily newspaper industry starts a suburban paper in a town in competition to one of ours, let's say. Circulation is going down in the inner city, and so twenty years too late the big daily starts a paper in the suburbs. He keeps it going for three years by pouring hundreds of thousands of dollars down its throat, cuts the rates, promotes like crazy, and finally, through sheer dollars, put me out of business. What then is to prevent the big publisher from closing down the failing paper, raising all the ad rates, and insisting that the advertiser now use just the original daily publication, possibly in its zone edition. There is no more competition. If a man wants to promote his retail business, he's locked in.

There are fake fallings as well. Any publisher worth a lead slug can make a paper look like a loser in a minute.

This bill, as well as the original bill, would allow a rich and powerful newspaper to join with a smaller paper in another community, and by a combination of resources, rates and profits, drive out of business a less well financed competitor.

If this bill is passed, the publishers who have been counting the money for all these years without thinking about it very much are going to get smart very quickly. Their ingenuity in operating without sanctions will help to destroy the community and suburban newspaper industry. The very imagination which, had they used it well for the past thirty years, would not make this bill necessary today.

The Lerner group is the largest weekly chain in America today in numbers of

papers. We would, I would imagine, with the use of House Bill 19123, and its counterpart in the Senate, swallow up some of our competition. Then, of course, with the law of the jungle rampant, we would be chewed up, and so on and on.

Is a special bill needed for the newspaper publisher? No. Let them continue to operate by serving the public and putting out the best newspaper he can put out. That, and nothing else, will solve his problems.

RICHARD M. NIXON CALLS FOR MAXIMUM U.S. AID TO STARVING BIAFRANS

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, the magnitude of the catastrophe which has befallen the people of Biafra has become terribly apparent for anyone willing to take but a few moments to read the reports coming from that unfortunate land. The toll that starvation is taking among these people nearly staggers the imagination. The world sits as spectator to what threatens to be the genocide of an entire people.

Pleas for help have come from organizations and persons throughout the world. On September 10, 1968, Richard M. Nixon, adding his voice to this throng, in a statement noted this terrible tragedy which is taking the lives of over 6,000 Biafrans every day. He stated that the time for talk and wringing of hands is long past and voiced the plea to President Johnson to give this crisis all the time, attention, imagination and energy that he can muster and to put the full wealth, power, and prestige of our Nation behind an effort to end the slaughter of these innocent men, women, and children who, without help, are doomed. I certainly agree with Mr. Nixon.

I place the full text of Mr. Nixon's statement in the RECORD at this point together with an article which appeared in this morning's Washington Post:

STATEMENT OF RICHARD M. NIXON

The terrible tragedy of the people of Biafra has now assumed catastrophic dimensions. Starvation is daily claiming the lives of an estimated 6,000 Ibo tribesmen, most of them children. If adequate food is not delivered to these people in the immediate future, hundreds of thousands of human beings will die of hunger.

Until now efforts to relieve the Biafran people have been thwarted by the desire of the Central Government of Nigeria to pursue total and unconditional victory and by the fear of the Ibo people that surrender means wholesale atrocities and genocide.

But genocide is what is taking place right now—and starvation is the grim reaper.

This is not the time to stand on ceremony or to "go through channels" or to observe the diplomatic niceties. . . . The destruction of an entire people is an immoral objective, even in the most moral of wars. It can never be justified; it can never be condoned.

Voluntary organizations such as the Red Cross, The Church World Service and Caritas have rushed thousands of tons of protein-rich nourishments and baby foods to the vicinity of the stricken region. Much of the food remains nearby while these children starve to death.

The time is long past for the wringing of hands about what is going on. While America is not the world's policeman, let us at least act as the world's conscience in this matter of life and death for millions.

The President of the United States is a man charged with responsibilities and concerns all over the world. But I urge President Johnson to give to this crisis all the time and attention and imagination and energy he can muster. Every friend of humanity should be asked to step forward to call an end to this slaughter of the innocents in West-Central Africa.

America is not without enormous material wealth and power and ability. There is no better cause in which we might invest that power than in sparing the lives of innocent men and women and children who otherwise are doomed.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 26, 1968]
BIAFRAN DEATHS DAILY: 6,000

SANTA ISABEL, FERNANDO PO, September 26.—The head of Red Cross operations in Biafra says deaths from starvation have stabilized at 6,000 a day. He added that sufficient supplies are now being delivered to the shrinking rebel state in eastern Nigeria to prevent an increase in the rate.

The representative, Henri Jaggi, said the 100 tons of food being flown daily from Santa Isabel and Sao Tome, and additional supplies from Gabon, are quickly distributed by 117 Red Cross people in the field.

The Red Cross has operated out of this Spanish possession off the coast of eastern Nigeria since relief operations began. At one time, about six flights per month departed from here, but these were suspended when Biafran airports were cut off by federal Nigerian troops. Now the flights have resumed, but it is not clear where they are landing.

The Biafrans are reduced to defense of one town, Umuahia. Their 7 million people once lived in an area of 29,000 square miles. Now refugees are squeezing into the 3,000 square miles left of Biafra after 15 months of civil war.

THE BIG GAME

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, during these days of demonstrations, civil disorder and crime, we sometimes fail to recognize the good things taking place in our country.

The following article was sent to me by Mr. Gene Fuller, director of recreation for the city of Aiken, S.C., in my congressional district. I hope every Member reads it. This is the answer to crime. This is what America is all about.

THE BIG GAME

(By Eugene M. Fuller)

On February 24, 1968 in Aiken, South Carolina, a program was conducted to climax Aiken's Recreation Department's Church League Basketball season.

A basketball game was played, hot dogs served and a group of professional football players played a basketball game. This doesn't sound very earth shattering, but the basketball game played was The Big Game, where 59 teams, representing 14 different churches, 700 boys and girls, played in one game. It was labeled The Big Game—Basketball With A Halo—the largest basketball game played in the U.S.A. in 1968—the HA's vs the LO's.

Hotdogs were served to all. There was one special hotdog 59 feet long, symbolizing one foot for each team. Later a group of professional football players played a local basketball team called the Celestial Five, a team made up of the clergymen of the 14 churches that played in the big game.

There were many who contributed to the game. The ball used was sent from the biggest man in basketball, Wilt Chamberlain; a knife to cut the 59-foot hotdog was provided by the Cutlery company; letters of best wishes came from the Basketball Hall of Fame, college basketball teams and many many more. . . . The Big Game was a big day in Aiken, South Carolina!

What made this such a big day? It was a living example of America in Action with free men at work and play—although different in their social and religious ways, but together. People came together and displayed perhaps the freedom our forefathers provided and guaranteed when they drew up our Constitution and Bill of Rights. Only in a free land, such as ours, could such a program be conducted. The Big Game was truly America in Action—Freedom in Action.

LONG BEACH PORT PILOT AWARDS PRESENTED TO RIVERS, HARLEE

HON. TOM S. GETTYS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. GETTYS. Mr. Speaker, it has just come to my attention that my esteemed friends and colleague, Chairman L. MENDEL RIVERS of the House Armed Services Committee and Rear Adm. John Harlee, chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, were recently presented the "Honorary Port Pilot" award by the Port of Long Beach, Calif.

Recognition of the two contributions of these two distinguished Americans to the important field of international trade is fitting and appropriate, and I place the following newspaper report of the presentation ceremony in the RECORD:

LONG BEACH PORT PILOT AWARDS PRESENTED TO RIVERS, HARLEE

WASHINGTON.—The Port of Long Beach, California, honored two top-ranking officials in the field of international world trade and port development here last Friday, June 14.

Representative Rivers, South Carolina, Chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, and Rear Admiral John Harlee (U.S.N., Ret.), Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, were presented with the Port of Long Beach "Honorary Port Pilot Award" Friday evening at a reception at the Willard Hotel.

Congressman Rivers and Admiral Harlee are well known throughout Southern California for the work they have done to assure that the Port of Long Beach has the necessary ocean shipping facilities to meet the growing demands of world markets, as well as modern facilities for the 60 steamship lines that serve the Port.

The "Honorary Port Pilot Awards" were presented by members of the California Congressional Delegation and officials of the Port of Long Beach.

The Port of Long Beach presented its first award, in 1954, to the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and, since that time, the Port has honored 24 outstanding persons for contributions to world trade.

MASS TRANSPORTATION: KEY TO URBAN DEVELOPMENT

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of Congress who has long and actively been concerned with the need to improve urban mass transportation facilities and services in our Nation's metropolitan areas, I am delighted to bring to the attention of our colleagues two documents of exceptional importance.

The first is the text of a speech delivered by our distinguished colleague from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL] before the recent convention of the American Transit Association in Cleveland. Congressman WIDNALL has provided outstanding leadership in the effort to improve mass transportation services and I am confident our colleagues will find his remarks of great value.

The second is the text of a major article published in the October 1 issue of Forbes magazine dealing with the increasingly critical transportation crisis, especially as it affects mass transportation and other transportation services in major urban areas.

The documents follow:

A LEGISLATOR LOOKS AT THE FUTURE

(Address by Congressman WILLIAM B. WIDNALL)

The title of this address is "A Legislator Looks at the Future." I did not pick it. It was bestowed on me. I took the required look and almost cancelled the engagement. Then I remembered the "gloom and doom" base upon which most daily newspapers operate and decided to show up anyway. When I remember the dark days when the mass transit bill was in jeopardy in 1964, and contrast the ease with which we extended the funding authorization and the program's life in the Housing Bill signed August 1, I cannot help but be encouraged by the prospects we have.

I can recall, as I am sure most of you can, the agonizing days of 1964 when we first placed mass transit on the statute books. At the time, the proposal was most controversial. Gloom spilled over our conferences. Some legislative leaders were unsure of the Congress' temper and wishes. And a few tables had to be pounded by brave souls before mass transit legislation could be put to the test and passed. But it did and now we are looking to the future.

What of the future? What additional legislative tools do we need in this field? Those are not easy questions.

It is easy to propose the indefinite extension of the program and increased funding. I am for such legislative activity. But just how to do it? That is not so easy.

Since the basic law was enacted in 1964, I have not enjoyed the legislative support from the Administration that I had in that year. The Administration did not openly oppose my proposals, but it restricted them. It cut back authorizations; it looked with disfavor on an unlimited extension of the program's life.

Why? Simply, because they had budgetary requirements and what was proposed did not originate with the Administration.

Overall, at least in their estimation, we were in competition with them for their piece of the monetary pie and for such things as rent supplements and demonstration cities

they had, what for them were, priority commitments.

The Housing Bill of 1968, signed into law a month and a half ago, by President Johnson authorized the spending of almost \$5 billion in the next two fiscal years, 1969 and 1970. There are estimates that the costs for the next 40 years will approximate \$50 billion. Now, the additional authorization in the next two years for mass transit is a large sum, just under \$200 million. It is, however, small when compared with what is being committed in a variety of other causes. And, if the present Administration runs true to form, it and its adherents will not give needed support to mass transit, neither to the extension of its program nor to additional authorizations. I suggest you give attention to this problem.

At the same time, I would advise against the kind of support that was offered in a suburban Washington editorial column 10 days ago where it was suggested that the adjacent counties add an additional tax on purchased gasoline for the specific purpose of raising funds to pay for the cost of extending mass transit into their areas. It was argued that the authorization of such a tax would have a two-fold result. First, it would raise funds for mass transit. Second, it would discourage drivers from using their cars and instead induce them to ride mass transit which would produce additional revenue.

Regardless of the soundness or lack of it of these two arguments individually, their dual presentation to, I should say confrontation with, the newspaper's public convinces me of the old adage, "With such friends, who needs enemies?"

This same kind of mentality proposes using the highway trust fund, a tempting but losing proposition from the start. We must face it—there are many more people driving and riding in automobiles than there are driving and riding in mass transit. This would not preclude using such funds to provide high speed lanes for buses.

What I think we need at this point is proof of the service we render. Something beyond scale models and drawings and estimates and the courage of our convictions.

The entire annual appropriation for mass transit can be swallowed up by the project needs of Washington, Seattle, San Francisco, New York, or any of our large cities. If given to any one of them, it would still be years before the visible justifications would be evident.

What we need is a continuing program modeled along the lines of the thinking which produced the Neighborhood Development Program of Urban Renewal Title V of this year's Housing Act.

Given that, with the program restructured to annual production results, we would have something to show, and something to improve, and add to each year. We would be building both to immediate needs and long-range goals.

Federal help to cities for physical development programs has been essential to building better neighborhoods and providing a decent home for millions of Americans.

These physical development programs have been tailored to promote and encourage local planning and local initiative. As our population has grown, the need for decision at the local level has become even more and more important.

It simply would be impossible to develop comprehensive urban rebuilding and rehabilitation programs without such techniques as urban renewal, public housing, rent certificates, lower middle-income housing, open space grants, and the whole system of FHA insurance. These programs must be continued properly administered and funded at levels adequate to assure local governments with the funds necessary at the time needed. Tying them together is mass transit.

The Federal emphasis of the last decade in the field of transportation has been the suc-

successful effort to link together the metropolitan centers of the 48 contiguous states by means of the Interstate Highway System. Now as its completion approaches, we should refocus our attention on where another part of the problem is—the urban areas of America.

In assigning priorities to problems which confront urban America, transportation has to be among the first. We will have no chance to remedy the problems of urban decay, unemployment, civil disorders—or even the financial crisis common to most cities—if we have choked to death in our congestion. Transportation in metropolitan areas should be much more than a system by which people and goods are moved efficiently. Transportation is a land use planning tool with the capacity to enhance that which is good and help correct that which is bad. Our primary goal—in transportation as in everything else—must be the improvement of the quality of our environment.

When a new freeway is constructed, the benefits to the public are obvious—high-speed access to the central city; seventy miles an hour speeds through areas which previously had been covered at a tortuously slow pace. We start to measure distance in minutes rather than miles. What is not so obvious nor so pleasant to contemplate are the social costs which may also result: The ribbon of high-speed freeway can also result in the disruption of a city's social fabric. People, families, neighborhoods, and community growth patterns can become the victims of improper planning and of the impact of substantial land takings in metropolitan areas. This does not, however, have to be the case.

Urban transportation should be guided by the following considerations:

1. An urban transportation system should be a tool for shaping the growth of the metropolitan area and should have as its primary purpose the improvement of the quality of the environment.

2. There should be a locally worked out solution that reflects a balance of transportation types most appropriate for the particular area.

3. Preferential funding should not be the basis upon which the means selection is made.

4. In order that transportation systems can be planned and programmed intelligently, assured long-term funding for all selected types is essential.

Placement of all Federal transportation programs under the Department of Transportation should prove most helpful to urban areas. Coordination of transportation planning with other community goals through the requirements of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1962 is essential.

Metropolitan transportation needs require that any system combine the various types of mass movement so that each plays its appropriate role. Private vehicles and buses, railways as well, all have their contribution to make.

The original Interstate System of 41,000 miles is nearing completion. This magnificent program was funded with the Federal Government providing 90% of the cost, and the local share 10%. Prudence dictates that we must be now thinking what form the Federal highway support programs will take in the future when the Interstate System is completed.

I cannot over-emphasize the importance of local determination in grant-in-aid programs. In the area of urban transportation, this is a crucial consideration. Each metropolitan area must decide for itself the solution to its transportation problem. What may be highly satisfactory for New York or Cleveland, or Los Angeles, may have little applicability to another city. Communities over 50,000 are now required to have a continuing comprehensive cooperative transportation planning program. This is a good requirement, provided it reflects an objective solu-

tion to the problem and is combined with a land use plan. Keeping planning decisions at the local level, should produce a program that will reflect the views of the citizens who will have to live with whatever solution is devised.

One local level that transportation planning has not sufficiently reached is that of the inner city worker seeking employment. Transportation networks, economic development, and job opportunities obviously go hand in hand. During the past decade, industry has migrated from North to South, from city to suburban fringe, partly, at least, on the basis of labor supply. Beltway loops and circumferential highways act as links between industrial parks.

Unfortunately, in the process, employment problems of minority groups and inner city lower income families have been increased. Old industry has left, and new job producing business has not relocated in the ghetto. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 62% of valuation permits for new industrial buildings, and 52% for mercantile establishments were issued for suburban locations from 1960 to 1965. The five cities of Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco and St. Louis alone lost 360,000 low-skilled manufacturing jobs from 1951 to 1965.

Housing discrimination, or the lack of housing at prices they can afford, makes it difficult for minority group and other low income workers to follow where the jobs go. When they turn to the alternative of transportation from home to work, the inner city low income resident finds commuting costs, in terms of both time and money, discouraging if not prohibitive. To give but two examples: from San Francisco's Hunters Point to East Bay industrial locations in Contra Costa County, there may be three or four transfers, four or five hours of commuting time round-trip, with costs at \$15 per week. A resident of Harlem commuting to an aircraft factory on Long Island would have to spend \$40 per month.

Despite an estimated 1.5 million new manufacturing jobs since 1951 set up on the rim of the central cities, there is little commutation by inner city residents, especially non-white males. The 1960 Census of five selected cities showed a range from 16% of the inner city non-white work force in Baltimore to 3.1% in New York in terms of outward bound commuters. Two recent studies of the industrial growth fostered by the Washington, D.C. Beltway came to the conclusion "that the lack of public transportation makes it difficult or impossible for Central City residents who do not have private cars to follow the jobs to the suburbs."

America is a nation of automobiles. Eighty per cent of white American households own cars, including 89% of all households earning over \$6,000 annually. Half of minority households do not own cars, however, and although they have more wage earners per family, lower income and minority families have fewer two car families. Operating expenses and insurance costs are much higher for the inner city resident also.

We see the results of the lack of inner city jobs, the lack of suburban low-cost housing, and adequate transportation facilities in the unemployment figures. Non-white unemployment is nearly double that of whites; 30 to 50 per cent of nonwhite teenagers are unemployed; subemployment at part-time or poverty wage jobs is as high as 35 per cent in some areas.

What can be done? What role can transit play in solving this national problem?

Some say that the black community is no longer interested in moving, that it wants to attract and own job-producing operations within the inner city. Others claim that business relocation into the ghetto is economically unfeasible and that suburbanization is the only answer.

While I see some merit in both points of view, their development will take time. Neither will provide a full answer alone to job demands, and in either case, transportation will still be vitally important. The inner city firm needs adequate freight transportation facilities. The suburban worker is already plagued by inadequate transportation to the outer industrial parks. There is another way to get jobs and people together.

The Kerner Commission, however else you may view it, recognized this. One of its specific recommendations was the "provision for transportation between the ghetto and outlying employment areas," a problem which, the report said, "has received little attention from city planners and municipal officials."

From the articles in your weekly publication, I know this Association has not ignored the problem or the HUD-sponsored demonstration projects to date. Your membership will undoubtedly be called upon to play a major role as we move from experimentation and concern to application and solution.

The riders are there. For the past two years, a \$2.7 million Federally-assisted research project has been carried out in Watts to assist residents not only in reaching jobs but schools, stores, medical care and other outside services. Passenger traffic on the buses has increased from 800 rides daily to as high as 2800 daily in the space of three months.

Without ruling out other forms of transit, particularly where new lines are being installed, bus service appears to have an inside track as a solution due to its flexibility. In the District of Columbia, a new bus service has been instituted directly between black southeast Washington and white upper northwest Washington during peak hours. In my own area of New Jersey, after nearly two years of planning and petitioning, a new bus franchise route has been approved by the ICC to service a large industrial park development between terminals in Paterson and New York City. Besides new routes to provide direct access to places of work, approaches such as the HUD-sponsored Los Angeles test whereby buses controlled traffic lights along their routes, cutting as much as 75% off previous delays, can be utilized.

If existing transit agencies and companies do not move to meet this need, it seems clear that others will. A black business organization called NEGRO is trying to establish a community-owned bus line in Watts. Ghetto car owners in Providence, Rhode Island, taking advantage of the fact that some cities pay transportation expenses for residents trying to reach health and welfare services, are being paid as drivers on call from a central dispatcher. So-called gypsy cabs serve areas of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant in New York City.

I don't doubt that some form of subsidy, hopefully temporary, will be necessary in many cases while the passenger potential is being tapped. Such a subsidy is justified by the problem of getting information on jobs or on-the-job training to inner city workers. Studies have shown that the most effective means of transmitting job information is the informal system through friends, neighbors, relatives and others in the community. But the social and economic isolation of the ghetto dries up the grapevine. This has to be overcome.

While the problem of spreading job information is not directly your concern, it is important to remember that information on the availability of adequate transportation plays a major part in the decision of a worker to pursue these new opportunities. I mentioned before that a new crosstown bus route has been started in Washington, D.C., to assist lower income workers in their attempts to reach jobs. Apparently, from a check my office made, the only publicity carried out on this new route was in the newspapers and on the inside of other buses. It is not surprising, then, to find much of the traffic generated

using the bus as an express downtown instead of crosstown.

As we approach the establishment of service of this nature, we are going to have to use a little imagination not only in routing and equipment, but in promotion as well. Many of the potential customers, through no fault of their own, have had such poor education that they have little inclination or ability to read newspapers, even if they could afford them. They may not be riding other buses because they are unemployed, lacking the mobility the new service is designed to provide. We need to reach them through their own media, and where they live. That means easy-to-read notices in laundromats, churches, barbershops, beauty parlors, corner groceries, carryouts; that means using the grapevine of neighborhood and social workers, bloc clubs and tenant organizations, ministers, and bartenders; that means using what the kids call soul radio, as well as community newspapers.

Will interest in the transportation needs of the inner city resident forfeit the suburban support for mass transportation programs? As a suburban Congressman, I do not think so. We need all the support we can get. Our urban goals are broader than simply transporting someone into the central business district.

Transport innovation will to a large degree dictate what is possible, and the extent to which transport policy is directed to achieving urban goals will determine what is feasible.

A common interest in adequate transportation planning and policy can be assumed for both suburbanite and inner city resident. As an extra bonus, it may serve as a political and physical bond, a much-needed contact point between the two Americas many now fear are forming in relative isolation, distrust, and misunderstanding.

As a legislator looking to the future, then, I welcome your advice, your ideas, and your support, and I thank you for the opportunity to meet with you here today.

THE U.S. LOPSIDED TRANSPORTATION BUDGET

Stacked-up airplanes, jammed highways around the cities, inadequate local bus service, rundown railroad trains. What can be done about them? Most people throw up their hands in despair. They say, "The only practical solution is the injection of billions of dollars of public money," followed by "Where's the money coming from, in the face of educational needs, poverty programs, not to mention Vietnam?"

Hold a minute. That answer is not quite sound. The fact is, there is public money available for transportation needs, \$5.5 billion in federal money alone, another \$9 billion in state and local money. The only trouble is, it's being spent in a lopsided and basically senseless manner. There is tax money already in hand that could be spent for airports. For mass transit. For speeded-up corridor railroad trains. Unfortunately, much if not most of the money actually is going toward making it more and more difficult for most Americans to get from hither to thither.

If that sounds like an overstatement, consider this: Jets fly at 600 miles an hour, DC-3s at 200. Yet, in this age of the jet, according to a study by Lockheed, it takes "45 minutes longer on the average to get from downtown New York to downtown Washington than it did 20 years ago using DC-3s." If this affects only the more affluent portion of the population, consider this: Millions of Americans once rode to work comfortably, efficiently, inexpensively by mass transit—buses, subways, elevated trains, electric trolleys. Today that great system is only a fraction of its former size and no longer efficient or comfortable. One result is that in many areas, the jobless cannot get to where the jobs are. In other areas, working

men must spend hours and hundreds of dollars a year on crowded highways. That's what our billions have accomplished.

Why has our transportation system become such a mess? There are a multitude of answers, but they all boil down to one: We are spending our billions in a way that even a Hottentot would consider irrational. Practically all the Federal Government's expenditures are for highways. Says Alan S. Boyd, Secretary of the Department of Transportation: "Everybody talks about a balanced transportation system. We've got about \$4.5 billion a year going into the Highway Trust Fund. On the other side of the scale, we have \$175 million going into mass transit [both rail and bus] and \$65 million for airports. We've got a bucketful of money for highways and only a medicine dropperful for the rest."

In a nation with 100 million automobiles, highways are an obvious necessity. Just as obviously, however, they are not the complete solution to our transportation problems. Since 1957 the Federal Government has spent \$36 billion collected from taxes on tires and gasoline to pour 220,000 miles of concrete. The state governments have spent another \$58 billion. Yet, as every motorist knows, the traffic problem hasn't gotten any better; it's gotten worse in many areas.

MORE ROADS—MORE TRAFFIC

One reason, of course, is that there are more cars on the road. Another is that highways encourage people to drive more. As Harold E. Wirth, a Washington lobbyist for Firestone Tire & Rubber and chairman of the District of Columbia chapter of the Highway Users Conference (which is also a lobby), says: "Trouble is, every time you build one of these roads, they're so damned good, everybody flocks to them." He says it with a smile: He's paid to keep the concrete flowing; the theory is that highways sell rubber.

The highway lobby's solution is a variation on the hair-of-the-dog-that-bit-you theory: If you have a hangover, the cure for what ails you is another drink. If you have a traffic jam, build another highway.

It hasn't worked so far. It cannot work. Highways don't run from nowhere to nowhere. They link cities. And the cities, by their very nature, are bottlenecks. They can handle just so many cars, and that will always be true until some genius figures out a way of making streets elastic. That is why, as cars approach a city, in some places even before they reach the suburbs, traffic becomes jammed. Laying down more highways cannot possibly alleviate the problem, because the problem is the city itself. Just one car too many acts as a cork, closing the bottleneck and backing up traffic for miles. The city is the problem, but the cities are not getting the money; it's going for ribbons of concrete.

The solution clearly is to bring more people, especially commuters, into the cities by mass rapid transit, thus relieving the congestion in the streets. Most of the nation's major cities now recognize this, but it's not easy. First, where will the money come from? As Boyd has pointed out, while there's more than enough for highways, there's only "a medicine dropperful for the rest." Another reason is the highway lobby, by far the most powerful in the U.S.

The highway lobby is not a sinister thing. It represents a major part of the U.S. economy, on which millions of Americans depend for a livelihood, directly or indirectly: the oil companies, the auto companies, the tire companies, the trucking companies, the highway construction companies. It represents the man who owns an auto agency in a small New England town and the widow running a gas station along an Indiana highway. It represents the trade unions whose members work on the highways.

The highway lobby has behind it some of the most powerful state political machines

in the U.S. In many states, the highway department produces the grease that keeps the machine running. Since the gasoline pump is one of the most efficient tax-collection agencies ever devised by man, in many states it takes in more money than any other state department. It has more contracts to give out; it has more favors to offer (like running a highway past someone's land even though common sense says it should be elsewhere).

Finally, like the gun lobby, the highway lobby has the strength of a great mystique. There are millions of Americans who just plain love cars. They will make any sacrifice to own and drive a car. A car is not a necessity in New York City; it can more aptly be called an expensive nuisance. The auto insurance rates in New York are among the highest in the U.S. In some parts of the city, it costs as much as \$75 a month to garage a car. In midtown, the parking lots charge as much as \$1.50 an hour. The traffic is agonizing. In spite of this, 1.5 million cars are owned by New Yorkers. That's how powerful the mystique is.

GENEROSITY ON CAPITOL HILL

If all this were not enough, the highway lobby has never hesitated to spend money: an estimated \$500 million a year. Part of this goes to legislators—local, state and federal. According to a recent story in the *Des Moines Register*, 13 of the 34 members of the House Public Works Committee, which has jurisdiction over highway legislation, have received campaign contributions from the highway lobby ranging from \$500 to \$3,000. It's also accepted practice for industry associations belonging to the Highway Users Association to ask key members of Congress to address their meetings for a fee that may run as high as \$5,000.

The highway lobby makes it a practice to fight mass transportation. It argues that mass transportation is a waste of money because few people will use it since "surveys show they prefer their cars." Alan Boyd, however, disagrees: "the community hasn't had a chance to make a choice. There's money for highways, and that's it."

Basically, the highway lobby has two motives. One is obvious: The better the highways and the worse public transportation becomes, the more people will prefer to drive cars; already one family in four is a two-car family. The other motive is less obvious but equally powerful: The highway people don't want to see gasoline go the way of the cigarette so far as taxes are concerned. As things now stand, the federal gasoline tax is only 4 cents a gallon, 11% of the typical price, and typical state and local taxes run to another 7 cents, 20% of the price. By contrast, in New York City, for example, cigarette taxes run to 24 cents a pack, about 50% of the price.

Like cigarettes, gasoline is a product that people will buy at almost any price. By seeing to it that gasoline taxes go only for highways, the highway lobby interests hope to kill the temptation on the part of governments to tax gasoline for general revenue purposes.

One of the cities that has decided to fight building more highways and, instead, create a mass transportation system to bring in people is San Francisco. The Bay Area now has 3.5 million people; by 1980 it will have 12 million. To Mayor Joseph L. Alioto, a tough, former antitrust lawyer, it's obvious that there just isn't any way they will all be able to get around by car. "Some of them are just going to have to get the hell out of their cars and use other means of transportation," he says. San Francisco has launched a \$1 billion Bay Area Rapid Transit project called BART, and Alioto is having the devil's own time finding the money to complete it, partly because of the highway lobby's opposition. The lobby is dead-set against BART because, says Alioto, it "looks

on BART as competitive with their automobiles. . . . I've written letters to all the company presidents concerned, telling them they should call off their dogs, explaining that they are not representing their best interests. Any answers? Just one from Standard Oil of California. They're willing to talk about it."

While fighting BART, the highway lobby is pushing for four miles of freeway through the city's recreation and watershed land. Alioto says the city doesn't want highways there. The highway lobby is also trying to build a freeway through the city's famous Golden Gate Park. "We told them [the highway lobby] they can go to hell," says Alioto. "They aren't going to build a freeway through this city unless they go underground."

Another city that has been attempting to block new highways, substituting mass transportation, is Washington, D.C. For the past five years, the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads has been trying to build a new bridge over the Potomac and a series of inner belt freeways. Citizens' groups have opposed the project on the grounds that it would destroy part of the Mall, cut through miles of park land, and further congest traffic. The lobby is going to have its way. In August Congress passed the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968, which ordered the District of Columbia to start construction of the contested project in "not later than 30 days." Mayor Walter E. Washington, and the Secretaries of Transportation, Interior, and Housing & Urban Development all urged President Johnson to veto the bill, but he signed it anyway because of what Boyd calls blackmail. Democratic Representative William H. Natcher of Kentucky, chairman of the Appropriation Subcommittee for the District of Columbia, threatened not to release one penny of the money Congress had voted for the subway Washingtonians really want "unless those highway projects get going beyond recall." Such is the power of the highway lobby.

UPROAR IN THE GHETTOS

This obsession for building highways while neglecting every other form of transportation has not only complicated the nation's transportation problem; it also has exacerbated its racial problems. With freeways already linking the cities, there soon won't be any place to build more—except right inside the cities themselves. And that's what the highway lobby is pushing for. There is a certain logic in the lobby's position: Wherever the cities constitute a bottleneck, pave them over. Understandably, when an engineer plans a freeway, he picks a route that runs through relatively inexpensive property. Not always but usually, that means the Negro ghettos. It's a question of dollars and cents, not race prejudice, but it nevertheless infuriates the inhabitants of the ghettos, for it means tearing down the houses in which they live. Granted these houses frequently are slums, the inhabitants of the ghettos have no other place to live.

Urban freeways, therefore, have become a major issue among Negroes in several cities and towns in northern and border states, including Nashville, Tenn.; Ossining and Tarrytown, N.Y.; Baltimore and Philadelphia. They were a major cause of the riots that swept Newark and Detroit last year.

Partly for this reason, partly because of the other problems it causes for the city, including pollution and increased congestion, and partly because all the other means of transportation are demanding urgent attention, opposition to building more freeways is growing. So far, it has not reached such proportions that it greatly disturbs the highway lobby. Jerry W. Poole of the American Petroleum Institute, which represents the major oil companies, for example, simply dismisses the complaints of Negro leaders

and of mayors like Alioto with the statement: "We have to relocate and tear down. You can't do this without irritating somebody." John de Lorenzi, public relations director of the diehard American Automobile Association, is even more cavalier. "Fighting freeways is an emotional thing," he says. "It seems to be the new 'in' thing. Last year, it was Vietnam; this year, highways."

One reason the highway lobby can afford to dismiss its critics is the fact that, in a sense, the highway program is self-generating. Proposals to appropriate money for airports, for mass transportation and for improving the nation's railroads all must compete with proposals to appropriate money for defense, for housing, for education, for the support of agriculture. The highway program has its private pork barrel, the Federal Highway Trust Fund. Every time a motorist or trucker buys a new tire or a gallon of gasoline, he pays a tax that goes into this fund and cannot be used for any purpose except highways, that cannot be tapped by anyone not even by the Department of Defense.

Congressmen who believe the nation's transportation is unbalanced have argued in favor of using part of the Highway Trust Fund for other means of transportation, to build new airports, for example. The highway lobby has beat them off. AAA attended both national conventions to lobby for "a plank protecting the Highway Trust Fund." De Lorenzi says: "We fight hard. You never know where the threat will pop up. Even Alan Boyd has been suggesting the use of highway money for parking lots near transit stations."

It's a fact of bureaucratic life that, if a government agency has money, it will find a way to spend it. Given the nature of the Federal Highway Trust Fund, the highway program has a never-ending supply of money.

On top of this is another fact: Under the National Highway Act, states that decide to build a highway can get 90% of the money from the Highway Trust Fund. Faced with a choice between constructing a mass-transit system that will cost it 100 cents on the dollar and a freeway that will cost it only 10 cents on the dollar, the temptation for a state to build a freeway is almost irresistible.

What about the airplanes? What has the power of the highway lobby to do with airplanes stacked up for hours over New York's Kennedy Airport or lined up on the runways at Chicago's O'Hare. The answer is: Plenty. Last year in the U.S., \$625 million was budgeted for airport building, expansion and modernization. Of this, just \$65 million, over 10%, came from the U.S. Government. This meant of course that, while local governments could build highways with 10-cent dollars, they had to build airports with 90-cent dollars. The result has been predictable, and it is going to get worse.

The airport situation is tied to the other forms of transportation in yet another way. Few people want airports near their homes: The noise is getting worse and worse. The only solution is to build new airports far out in the country. But that solution runs right smack into the problem of urban congestion: How are passengers disgorged, say, at the far tip of Long Island, going to make the 100 miles into Manhattan. By car? It would take six hours to make the trip. The solution is comfortable, efficient, high-speed rapid transit. But where is the money coming from? Not from the airlines. They are hard put to finance the fleets of new airplanes they have contracted for.

But many of the new aircraft may turn out to be unusable unless something is done about the airport situation. The airlines last year owned 2,188 planes; by 1974 they'll have 3,400. Private planes totaled 114,000 and will top 170,000 by 1974. Already the Federal Aviation Administration has ordered the airlines to reduce the number of flights into the

busier airports at the busiest times. This, of course, will alleviate the situation. But it will—in the long run—cause a deterioration in comfort and convenience and reduce the range of choice available to air travelers. (Already the once-wonderfully convenient New York to Washington air shuttle has been curtailed.) Most important of all, it will limit the expansion potential of the busiest routes and lead to even greater problems for the airlines a few years from now.

Given the continuing growth of air travel, New York has to have a fourth airport. No doubt it will eventually get one—but too late to prevent continuing crises. New Jersey and New York still are at least a year or two away from agreeing on a site. Even after they do agree, it will take an estimated eight or nine years to build the airport. Once built, there will remain the problem of getting people to and from the airport.

The highway lobby has a standard answer, of course: Build another highway. Cleveland tried it, and learned that it wasn't an answer at all. The new highway quickly became as congested as the old. Cleveland has since built a rapid-transit system out to its airport, and that does work. New York, which has an even worse problem than Cleveland's since Manhattan is completely surrounded by water, is talking about extending the subway to La Guardia and the Long Island Railroad to Kennedy. The problem is: Money. New York can get all the money it wants to build a highway across Manhattan that will obliterate thousands of homes and businesses, including Chinatown, which is, among other things, a great tourist attraction, but money to bring people into New York quickly and comfortably? Congress already has decided on its priorities: \$5 billion for highways; \$175 million for mass transit. When that \$175 million is divided among 50 states, the figure becomes meaningless.

Another example of Congress' sense of proportion: The need for a high-speed train between Washington and New York, and New York and Boston has long been obvious. Nowadays, in rush hour, a man has to spend 40 or 50 minutes getting to National Airport and an hour or more getting from La Guardia to New York, and this for a 50-minute plane ride. It wouldn't make sense if there were a high-speed train between Washington and New York.

A train going 125 miles an hour is technically feasible. Japan has one running between Tokyo and Osaka. It has been a huge success, a huge financial success. Last year, it earned \$96 million on revenues of \$310 million. Japan has decided to extend the line throughout the islands, 650 miles.

Penn Central is attempting to duplicate the Japanese feat. So far, it has failed. It was supposed to start operating its high-speed train in October 1967 but, says Boyd, "They're running into all sorts of technical problems on this thing." Why? "Largely because we tried to do it on the cheap."

The Japanese government spent \$1.3 billion to build the Tokyo-Osaka railroad. The U.S. Government has put up \$12 million for the high-speed Washington-New York train. Twelve million dollars couldn't build 14 miles of highway.

At that, Congress was generous, possibly because Congressmen spend much of the year in Washington and travel frequently to New York. High-speed trains are needed all over the U.S., wherever a megalopolis has developed—from San Francisco to Los Angeles, for example, and from Chicago to Milwaukee and Detroit. The necessity has left the legislators cold.

FROM TROUBLE TO CATASTROPHE

Until now, the nation's transportation mess has been merely an inconvenience. It has merely meant getting snarled in traffic, coming late to work on commuter trains which break down periodically, waiting hours in

airlines terminals for a plane to arrive. Unless something is done—and soon—however, there is a good chance that the mess may lead to catastrophe. Over all the nation's overcrowded airports, near-misses have become a commonplace. According to Kenneth T. Lyons, president of the National Association of Government Employees, "The safety factor at Washington's National Airport has degenerated to a point that almost daily there are reported and unreported near-misses averaging five a day." The nation's luck can't hold out forever.

The failure to spend money on mass transportation could lead to a catastrophe of another sort. To cite just one example: Over the years, the New Haven Railroad has steadily been running down. It has become so unreliable that fewer and fewer people use it every year; they just can't depend on the New Haven. Nevertheless, it still carries 30,000 commuters to and from work each day.

If the New Haven should break down completely, it would take at least 25,000 automobiles to get those commuters to work. (The average automobile carries 1.1 passengers.) In simple fact, they would never get to work, for 25,000 more cars on the highways leading into New York would create a traffic jam all the way to Greenwich, Conn. Building 50 more highways wouldn't help, since Manhattan can be entered only through bridges and tunnels. Building more bridges and tunnels wouldn't help, because Manhattan can't take any more cars; it's only 22 square miles.

Some of the nation's leading corporations, which have offices in Manhattan, would just have to declare a long holiday.

BILLIONS NEEDED

According to Department of Transportation experts, it would take a minimum of \$37 billion over the next five years to make even a start on cleaning up the nation's transportation mess: \$5 billion for corridor trains—Boston to Washington to New York; Chicago to Milwaukee and Detroit; San Francisco to Los Angeles—\$4 billion for airports, \$5 billion for airways (that is, for automated controls of flights), \$8 billion for mass transit, the rest for establishing bus transit, fringe parking, automated roadways and the like. That kind of money can only come from the U.S. Government—and justifiably so, since an efficient transportation system is vital to an efficient economy.

But, to quote Alan Boyd again: "Congress appropriated only \$175 million for mass transit for 50 states. At best one city, after a couple of years of haggling, might get \$900,000. Now what the hell good is that going to do against \$1 billion available for highway projects?"

Only three years ago, at the start of his first elected term in office, Lyndon B. Johnson had high hopes of doing something about the situation. He told FORBES at the time: "We need a transportation policy. There are conflicting interests at work. We've got to let the truckers know they can't contribute to a \$100-a-plate dinner for a Congressman and then own him. The railroads can't have any more Jay Gould empires. The airlines can't just serve their own interests and tell us who's going on the Civil Aeronautics Board. But they're all children in the woods of Government. They've got to be led. Transportation [a national program] has to be sold to this country. You've got to get the people excited about it."

A first step was the establishment in 1967 of a Department of Transportation. Its mission was to see to it that the U.S. got a balanced, modern transportation system. Johnson was then at the height of his power. But then the soaring cost of the Vietnam war destroyed the possibility of getting additional money for mass transit or for air travel. Later, as the President's power and influence waned with his popularity, the vested inter-

ests, especially the highway and trucking people, were able increasingly to have their way in Congress. So much so that, in struggling to prune the budget this year, the Administration has been unable to make any important cuts in the highway program—which is certainly one of the more postponable and inflationary items in the federal budget. The best the Administration has been able to do is to "stretch out" (i.e., postpone) \$200 million, less than 5% of the \$5.5-billion federal highway budget.

One solution to the problems that is gaining in support is for an Airways Trust Fund, financed by taxes on airline passenger tickets and aviation gasoline (not jet kerosene). Another possible fund might finance mass transit and railroad passenger travel. But these would be solutions of desperation. The mind boggles at the prospect of a federal budget straitjacketed by an endless series of earmarked taxes and spending mandates.

Will federal money be forthcoming for transportation in a more straight-forward and sensible way? Will the next Administration be able to come to grips with the problems? Whatever it does, one thing seems certain: It will have to consider seriously diverting some gasoline-tax revenues for other forms of transportation. Only the gasoline tax offers a convenient and relatively painless way to raise the money; there are too many other demands pressing on general revenues in an already overswollen federal budget.

But something will have to be done, because the U.S. is heading for a transportation mess that is going to affect not only the quality of life in this country but our economic life as well—to say nothing of our image as the industrial leader of the world.

KAUAI HOTEL MANAGER, GRACE BUSCHER, RECEIVES HIGH RECOGNITION

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii has long been known for her natural beauty and the warmth with which she welcomes visitors. In recent years the surge of tourist travel has resulted in an incredible increase in the construction of vacation hotels and resorts; in some unfortunate cases, the natural and delightful Hawaiian setting has been sacrificed for expediency. It is therefore with a deep sense of pride and pleasure that I call to the attention of my colleagues in Congress the wonderful job that Miss Grace Buscher has done in maintaining the flavor and atmosphere of "Old Hawaii" as the manager of the Coco Palms Hotel, on my native island of Kauai.

Miss Grace Buscher's talented management of the Coco Palms Hotel has helped to maintain Kauai's unique charm and beauty, culture and tradition, despite the crush of increasing tourism and the inevitable temptation of overdeveloping. As a personal friend, I would like to extend my deep appreciation to Miss Buscher for her efforts to preserve the beauty and peace of our delightful island. The Kauai County Board of Supervisors recently passed a resolution commending her for excellent work. It is with considerable pride in the well-deserved recognition that has thus been accorded

Miss Buscher that I now submit that resolution for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order that my colleagues and others may know of her efforts in preserving Hawaii's beauty:

RESOLUTION 32

Whereas, the Kauai visitor industry, nurtured through the years by public and private investment, has grown to become one of the major sectors of our economy; and

Whereas, the rapidity of this industry's growth has focused the attention of local government on the urgent need to maintain a balance between development and preservation of our Island's quality in terms of its beauty and the histories, cultures and traditions of its peoples; and

Whereas, it has been the officially stated purpose of the County of Kauai to preserve, as much as possible, the beauty, flavor, individuality and unique charm of our Island through careful attention to planning and through the legislation of ordinances which are designed to control development and encourage such to occur in keeping with our objectives; and

Whereas, an excellent example of this concept has been and is continuing to be maintained through the years in the on-going development of the Coco Palms Hotel, Wailua, Kauai; and

Whereas, the multiple aesthetic values of the Coco Palms Hotel, so evident despite its unprecedented growth, can be directly attributed to the foresight and boundless talents of one Miss Grace Buscher, its manager; and

Whereas, through her efforts, the culture of "Old Hawaii" is so effectively preserved and presented to the public in the midst of an established, profit-making enterprise which substantially contributes to the economy of our Island; and

Whereas, it is unanimously agreed that such outstanding attention to the ideals and goals of our people deserves recognition from their representative governmental body; Now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the board of supervisors, county of Kauai, State of Hawaii that Miss Grace Buscher be officially recognized and commended for her creative efforts in support of County's objectives.

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be forwarded to Miss Grace Buscher; to the president of Island Holidays Resorts, Inc., her employer; to The Honorable John A. Burns, Governor of the State of Hawaii; all Kauai representatives to the State Legislature; the Hawaii Visitors Bureau; the Hawaii Hotel Association; the Kauai Visitor Industry Organization; the Kauai County Advisory Committee on Tourism; and the Kauai County Advisory Committee on Economic Development.

GEN. JAMES GAVIN INTERVIEWED IN FORBES

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, many Members of Congress have long believed that the techniques of systems analysis and systems management could have applicability to the solution of some of our most urgent social problems.

One of the chief exponents of the techniques, Gen. James Gavin, now president of the Arthur D. Little Co., warns that we cannot expect too much of them.

Interviewed in the October 1 issue of *Forbes* magazine, General Gavin does point out that if systems management is seen as knowing all there is to know about all the aspects of a problem, then it can be helpful in urban and related areas.

Because of the widespread interest in this topic, I include the text of the interview:

(NOTE.—An interview with General James Gavin, Chairman of Arthur D. Little Inc.: In World War II he jumped into history as commanding general of the 82nd Airborne, but, when the war ended, Lt. Gen. James M. Gavin, did not simply fade away. He achieved equal fame as the Army's director of research and development. A man constantly sparking ideas—and never afraid to express them—he eventually found himself in such profound disagreement with his fellow generals that he retired from the Army—to start a new career as U.S. ambassador to Paris. Gavin is now chairman of Arthur D. Little, Inc., the Cambridge, Mass., management development firm, and as such, a leading authority on the systems approach, the modern technique for coping with problems.)

Question. General Gavin, we've come to you with something that's been nagging at us for a long time. We keep hearing that science may be able to solve the social problems afflicting the country: Crime, race relations, education, transportation. The secret weapon is supposed to be systems analysis. The aerospace people are using it to put a man on the moon and the military uses it to accomplish the most complex tasks. We've talked to businessmen who think systems analysis can do the same for social problems. At *Forbes* we've been skeptical. We want to know what you think. But first of all, what is systems analysis?

GAVIN. It's an over-all view of an operation that could be industrial, social or a combination of both. When you use the systems approach, you deal with the whole package; you view all the components as a package; you don't deal with the components themselves. In the case of manufacturing autos, the package would consist of the raw materials, labor, the factories and facilities, what goes into the auto—steel, glass, paint, everything. Ideally, you could put all these things into a computer and get a mathematical picture of the whole thing.

Question. Fine, General but is it a magic formula? What are the limitations? And what are the possibilities?

GAVIN. You could have a lot of fun in an interview if I'd blast the systems approach. I'm not going to do that. But it does have its limitations. The trouble is that in our homogenized society we much prefer slogans to well thought-out sentences. You run into it everywhere: In politics, business, everything. But all of us here working on these problems are very skeptical about the wide-spread acceptance of the so-called systems approach as the open sesame, the magic word that would cause the whole thing to unfold in detail and thus provide very simple solutions to very complex problems.

In my own opinion, knowing the theory of the systems approach is nothing in getting the answers to the problems unless you know the problems. You gotta be able to ask questions. You got to know the nitty-gritty dirty details. Thus the nature of the problem changes. You have to know the people. You have to know the scales. You have to know the raw materials. You have to know the probable return for investment made on the part of anyone whether it's human energy or dollars or whatever. You must be absolutely sure of all the variables. And this is where the systems approach to social problems runs into trouble. People are volatile, unreliable, unpredictable. That makes it difficult, almost impossible sometimes to use the systems approach to social problems.

As an example, now I'm an honorary member of the youth alliance of a black group in Boston. They're interested in providing some dignity to their own community and law and order and so on, and they're succeeding. They're doing a lot. They tend to take the law into their own hands, but they're doing pretty well.

The sort of question I get is how do you identify enterpreneurial skills. Who the hell is running things over there? It's hard to identify the leadership, and the leadership changes. Their business practices are so unsophisticated as to cause them to get into all kinds of ——— things that later don't work out and you have to work closely with them. You think you have something going for you and then it isn't working right. In the white community they've been doing these things so long that you know everyone. But in the black community we're trying to push them into things so fast and a lot of them are so ambitious about it that you can make some serious mistakes in identifying the business leadership and the effect of people and you have to work with people to find out how things are going. And then adjust as you go along.

I know some in Washington who are talking about systems approach in a big way. That's their business. But I like to do it my way because you know what the hell you're doing and you can see results. I've got some very able blacks in Arthur D. Little and we're working in Los Angeles, in East Cleveland, in any number of cities now and we're working right down at the nitty-gritty curbstone level. And getting things done.

There's a black group in New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant area trying to get capital to make African-type garments, colorful. The blacks will buy to identify themselves, and the whites will buy to save their conscience for so long being so insensitive to the condition of the blacks. But these people need capital. These guys are already tied in to cosmetics in the Watts area and they've got hair spray that puts a sheen on the hair.

They have more orders than they know what to do with but they need capital. We're working hard on this now. I have great respect for this way of doing it.

Let me draw a parallel for you: Once upon a time we had to launch a satellite and Werner von Braun and I worried our hearts out about the ——— thing, because we had so many things we didn't know how to solve. We didn't know how to solve the heat problem, the reentry problem. Then you have the very difficult problem of liquid oxygen and the jet fuel. But we finally got the first one launched and in fact it was responsible for the Explorer I. We worked on what we called the building-block principle. We understood every component 100%, and if anything happened we knew what to do to help that problem. And when we finally went off the pad our system worked because we knew what the hell was in it.

We had competitors at that time who worked on the systems approach. They just dumped the complete thing, took her down and let her go. And then tried to debug her. And ——— it was a costly business. It finally only worked because the building-block knowledge that went into it made it work. The analogy fits in the race problem. You have a lot of people, you have raw materials, you have business opportunities. You have all the ingredients but you've got to understand them and understand that they change all the time. And understand that your evaluations might be quite wrong and you have to be prepared to change. And then with willingness you can go ahead and help these people do things. But you must approach it from this end. Later on as you see the thing, it turns into a system, a total, well that's OK. But, first, you've got to deal with the components. The little plastic disk that costs 25 cents could cause an orbital flight to col-

lapse. On the pad. Because you didn't happen to understand the particular components of that little part.

Question. The building blocks in the case of the aerospace program are inanimate things. In the case of any social problem whether it's transportation, education or the slums, the building blocks are human beings. So really you have to know the human beings first. This is what you're saying.

GAVIN. People surprise you. For example there's a black woman in a midwest city on the board of trustees of a junior college. We went out to help locate the college. The trustees proposed putting a junior college right near the edge of the black community. I think, gee this is fine: The kids can all walk to the school. But the black lady was furious. She wanted it close to the white community so it would be an integrated school and not an all-black school. But you don't know this until you talk to her and find out. In fact, the trustees on the board couldn't understand why she wouldn't go along and yet she wouldn't say what she felt. She didn't want to be an Uncle Tom about it.

Question. General, not all of the building blocks are black ones. Some of them are white. The working-class whites who resent seeing the blacks make progress, the recent immigrants and poor southern whites who vote for Wallace. And even the well-meaning whites who think the blacks should take it easy.

GAVIN. I said to one of my more affluent friends down in Cape Cod last weekend that the rich get rich and the poor get poorer. That's reality. And he didn't like it at all. Yet what I said is supportable by numbers. In this country the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. And the numbers of them are increasing. You do have a number of building blocks. There's a white withdrawal to the suburbs and their nice little garden homes and their split-level houses and this and that. Two cars. More and more poor get stuck in the city with a very rapidly deteriorating environment. And it gets worse while the other gets better.

You've got a lot more than blacks to deal with, I'd agree. Right now we're talking to businessmen, and from my experience the first thing you've got to have is a businessman who is a chief executive taking a personal interest in the problem. He can't tell his vice president for public relations to go and represent him. He's personally got to take an interest in it. It's an executive problem now. It's a chance to do something for your community. It isn't public relations.

Question. But there are a great many businessmen and even a greater number of stockholders who say: Why should these be our problems? What do we care about Negroes in the slums? What do we care about transportation? What do we care about education? What do we care about anything except manufacturing hairpins and getting an operating profit of 10%. Why should they care about any kind of problem which doesn't affect their operation?

GAVIN. You ask, "Why should industry bother?"

You don't have to be a genius nor have a crystal ball to look at where this country is in terms of where it was and where it's going. I can see the conditions now prevalent up and down the eastern seaboard and in other parts of the country. I don't see how industry can live as islands of affluence and profitability in seas of squalor and want. I don't see how industry can live like that. You can't act as though these problems aren't going to be here. And if the conditions of our environment—pollution, traffic congestion, deterioration of housing, population growth continue on and on it will create a social environment in this country that's just unbelievable. I don't see how industry can ignore it. The wise in in-

dustury have begun to deal with it now before it gets worse.

You know we don't have to live this way. We don't have to live like this. You know how I feel about it. I'm frankly worried. Business has got to deal with these problems. After all this is the mark up. These are the people who should be purchasing the pots and using the services of industry. They've got to be reasonably prosperous, contributing taxpayers. This is good business to help them get like that. It's good business to be concerned with the problems and it's better business to start dealing with them now rather than ten years from now when it's going to become appallingly out of hand.

Question. You're talking about a problem we see every day. People say, "We need more airports." But then they say, "but don't build it near my house; it will hurt my eardrums and my property values." Or, "I'm for integration, but keep 'em out of my kid's school." So even if the systems approach can view the problem whole, what good is it if the voters and taxpayers don't see it whole?

GAVIN. This is because of a leadership failure in this country. No one makes the big decisions. There's a gross failure in the Establishment, in the leadership in this country. The values of our leadership are completely out of whack with the people themselves. I think what the candidates today are saying is irrelevant to the hour. Really, I think so. Not a word came out of Miami. I went down to Miami and came back before the votes were taken. There wasn't a word said down there about the young people, about their participation in government, getting the vote to the 18-year-old. Nothing said about the specifics, about the domestic condition. All motherhood and virtue. My God, what are we talking about? What they're saying is totally irrelevant today in this country of ours. What you're seeing now is real lack of leadership, real understanding leadership at the national level.

The lack of leadership is felt because the average person on the street today knows more than a head of state knew a generation ago, because every day he looks at TV and sees Czechoslovakia being invaded; he sees riots in Cleveland; and yet all we can tell him is all you've got to do is change your representative in Congress and send someone else down there who will begin to deal with these problems in 1972.

Therefore, we're going to follow two alternatives: We're either going to have a regressive government that fails to provide the sort of leadership we need and then we're going to have very serious disorders in this country, or we'll somehow manage to find the kind of leadership we had in a comparable way in the early 1930s when we had a President who went on radio for fireside chats with the people, to talk about all the problems. He did it with great frequency and he had experts with him and he talked about this side of it and that side of it and ended up bringing about a revolution in our society. I believe, and I say this publicly, we should have an executive who comes right to the people on prime time with some frequency the moment he takes over—maybe every week or so—to talk about what the real problems are. The people must get a sense of participation in what is happening in this country. Particularly the young people need a sense of participation.

If we could achieve that we could talk about getting the electorate to respond by sonar electronic devices and we could hold a national town meeting of the country. I think that this is technically feasible. Not to vote on issues, not to bind the present to any policy but to give people a sense of participation in giving direction to this country which they now feel is totally lacking.

Question. One of the most confusing things is this: How do you identify black leadership? Who are the people you are supposed to deal with?

GAVIN. Too put it bluntly, whites are being asked to do what blacks won't do. That's the strange thing about this. A reasonably intelligent, concerned American would look at this thing and say, —, we have a revolution on our hands in this country right now but we don't realize it. We have people like the Youth Alliance in Roxbury, wearing arm bands, having walkie-talkies, taking over law and order and not allowing the police in. They asked the police not to come in. And everybody agrees that this is the way to do it and it works. Now you have the Blackstone Rangers which is another sort of a problem. You've got the Panthers which is another kind of problem, but they're really interrelated. According to the Brandels (University) group (studying violence), 50% of these people are armed in their homes now, the whites as well as the blacks. Mostly whites, blacks have a hard time getting weapons. It doesn't take much common sense to see you've got a revolution here. You're recognizing nonlegal bodies as being the proper appointed leaders of the community, and that's where the leadership is—strangely enough. Businessmen will have to work with these people instead of the black Harvard graduates. They've got a position of respect and leadership in the community. You've got to recognize and you've got to work with them to do certain things.

You have to look at black leadership a little differently than you look at white leadership because the way it came into being is different from most whites but not all whites. We think of it as a sort of underdeveloped-country area. You have certain raw resources there, you have people, you have materials, with a little capital and a little identification of leadership. In our own way at Arthur D. Little, we're working with their building blocks. We do jobs for federal, state, city or a small business that's trying to start in these areas. We don't do it for charity. And for this we get paid our regular consultant fees. Aside from this, it's probably the most important thing we're involved in these days.

WANTED: 45,000 DISCIPLES—THE WAR AGAINST CRIME AND RIOTS

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege of addressing the Society of National Association Publications in Washington recently at the time when Resurrection City was in existence, and shortly after the unprecedented riots and burnings in the Nation's Capital.

Under these circumstances, I felt duty bound to discuss these matters, having been in the forefront of the legislative efforts to do something about these problems, including my successful sponsorship of the Antiriot Act, numerous anti-crime bills, and the attempt to get a bill passed to rid the Capital of Resurrection City and any other public property camps in the future.

I was proud to receive a very thoughtful article from the Hardware Retailer, a nationwide magazine, reflecting on this problem, which article I place in the RECORD for the attention of my colleagues:

WANTED: 45,000 DISCIPLES

(By Bob Vereen)

Most thoughtful Americans are appalled at today's rapid decay of authority, our

mushrooming crime rate, the frightening tendency of the courts and do-gooders to protect the rights of criminals and minorities at the expense of crime's victims and the welfare of the majority of American citizens.

We are reaching a time in our history when prompt and definitive action must begin. We must re-establish certain basic truths upon which our government and our nation were founded—that while the rights of the individual must be protected, such protection does not extend to the forceful deprivation of someone else's rights!

This is not a political editorial, but rather, a call to action regardless of your political party. Become involved this election year in letting local and national candidates—especially for the House, the Senate and yes, even the Presidency—know your feelings and views on crime and lawless in America.

Last month I attended a publishing convention in Washington, D.C., where I listened to the author of our nation's Anti-Riot Law describe the behind-the-scenes carnage that was Resurrection City. I heard him outline the broken promises made by those behind the Poor People's March, heard him tell of looting, robbing, arson and killings in Washington that became so numerous that today, as you read this, bus drivers in our nation's capital will not accept cash fares during the evening hours.

If you want to ride a bus, you use paper scrip. Why is scrip necessary?

Because there have been so many robberies, muggings and even murders of bus drivers that it is not safe to use our nation's currency in our own capital.

Did you know that police—and police dogs—are on full-time duty on Capitol Hill to escort government employees from their offices to their cars or public transportation at night? It is not safe to be on the streets of Washington alone. Nor is it safe in parts of Cleveland, New York, Chicago and many other cities.

If you are as I am, you knew some of this. You'd read about it in the papers. But the horrifying impact of it didn't reach me until I heard Rep. Bill Cramer of Florida describe it in person.

What can you and I do? We can become concerned . . . vitally interested . . . active, regardless of political preferences. I have personally vowed to make my feelings known to my representative and our two senators and to encourage my personal acquaintances to launch a letter campaign urging strict law enforcement and stiff penalties for criminals—especially the crimes of looting, arson and robbery. And for rioting.

Each of us can become a missionary for law and order in America. We must be strongly for genuine civil rights and equal opportunity, but we must also cry loudly to every politician and bureaucrat that millions of Americans demand law enforcement too.

Hardware Retailer's readers are respected business leaders at every level—manufacturing, wholesaling and retailing. Our readers are scattered throughout more than 10,000 cities, towns and small communities all over America. You truly blanket America.

There will be more than 45,000 copies of this September 1968 issue distributed in our industry. If each reader would become an activist in this cause, what an avalanche of mail we could shower on present or hopeful politicians.

Why not add the practicality of "civics" to our industry's many meetings and gatherings? Would it be wrong at sales meetings or store meetings to urge greater participation in local affairs? Would it be wrong to prepare a manual of instructions on better community relations? Indeed, would it be wrong to throw the spotlight on hardwaremen at any level who have accepted the mantle of civic responsibility and worn it well so as to

inspire even greater effort on the part of more people?

Legislative activity, as Bill Mashaw noted last month in his editorial, long has been a mainstay of Association programming and needs. But this strikes at a more fundamental problem—indeed at the very heart of America's being.

It is a common cause to all law abiding citizens—to your fellow merchants, whether large or small; to your employees; whether you employ 1 or 1,000; to your fellow church members; to the parents of your children's friends, etc.

Never before has it been so necessary that normally docile American citizens become aroused to full participation in their government. We must contribute and participate if we expect to survive.

THE STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, it was my great pleasure to have the opportunity to address the Steuben Society of America at their 23d Biennial National Convention which was held in St. Louis, August 20-25, 1968.

The Steuben Society of America has had a long history of service to this country in the tradition of Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, for whom the society is named. Von Steuben emigrated to this country in 1777 after having served as a high-ranking officer in the army of Frederick William I of Prussia. His services were badly needed and his talent put to good use. After reporting immediately to Gen. George Washington in February 1778, he undertook the training of the Continental Army and served as acting inspector general. By April of that year Washington made him inspector general with the rank of major general. In the winter of 1788-89 Steuben prepared his "Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States," which became the military bible of the Continental Army. At Yorktown Steuben commanded one of the three divisions of the victorious American army, and after the war Steuben assisted Washington in preparation of a plan for the future defense of the United States and in the arrangements for the demobilization of the Continental Army. He died a U.S. citizen in Onieda County, N.Y., in 1794.

The Steuben Society of America, composed of Americans of German origin, has been formed to emulate the ideals of this remarkable man. I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the "Fourteen Points About the Steuben Society of America—Its Policies and Activities" together with a short history of the society prepared by the Library of Congress. In addition, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD eight resolutions adopted by the delegates to the 23d Biennial National Convention of the Steuben Society which met in St. Louis, Mo., August 20-25, 1968, and the 1968-70 platform and program of the National Council, Steuben Society of America:

FOURTEEN POINTS ABOUT THE STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA

ITS POLICY AND ACTIVITIES

1.—This Society aims to loyally support the Constitution of the United States of America, advocates the proper application of its provisions, and endeavors to inculcate the principles underlying government by a Federal Republic with limited, delegated powers.

2.—This Society is dedicated to maintaining the independence and sovereignty of the United States of America and its freedom from all foreign influence.

3.—This Society engages in City, County, State and National civic affairs. The Unit attends to local matters, the District Council to a larger political division, the State Council to State matters and the National Council to National matters and Foreign Affairs.

4.—This Society pledges itself to promote the election to public office of men and women known to be reliable and worthy, who will strive to preserve and strengthen our Constitution and sovereignty, and who recognize our Constitution as the supreme law of the land.

5.—This Society uses the American language. The groups of the Society are units for the civic education and activity of members though not without social and cultural endeavor. It considers the teaching of the German language essential to the promotion of good will and friendly relations with Germany.

6.—This Society hopes to bring together all American citizens of Germanic origin for the purpose of safeguarding and promoting their political and civic stature.

7.—This Society is not a secret Society, but is of a non-public character.

8.—This Society employs a Ceremonial and Order of Business.

9.—This Society's "Constitution and Statutes" are modeled after the general principles of representative government. It provides for the opportunity of the able member to advance. There is no super-body of self-instituted and self-perpetuating governors.

10.—This Society is composed of administrative groups, known as "Units" and executive groups, called "Councils". To the District Councils are elected delegates and alternates from Units on a representative basis. To the State Councils are elected delegates and alternates from Units; Chairmen and Secretaries of District Councils are automatically delegates. The National Council is composed of delegates and alternates elected in each State on the basis of the number of Units. Such elections have the nature of promotion for ability displayed and service rendered.

11.—This Society's members must be citizens of the United States of America, must be able to vote, be of good repute and, wholly or in part, of Germanic origin. Persons who were shifters and trimmers, or who are known to possess too pride of ancestry are not eligible. Men and women alike are eligible for membership. No distinctions are drawn as to creed or political tendency.

11a.—Germanic immigrants, desirous of becoming citizens, who otherwise possess the above-mentioned qualifications may join a "Prospective Citizens League". Where such a League does not now exist, a group of 15 or more such future citizens may apply to the nearest Unit or Council of the Society for a charter.

12.—This Society holds that quality is the first consideration, quality being based not on wealth or position, but upon personal worth.

13.—This Society endeavors to maintain strict discipline. Self-seeking is made impossible by the Laws of the Society. This Society supplements the activities of German-American organizations in a hitherto neglected field, and is not in conflict with any existing organization. The Society was organized in May, 1919, and operates in many

States. Public discussion of intrinsic and internal affairs and the resources of the Society by unauthorized members is not permitted.

14.—This Society is dedicated to enlightened participation in local, state and national affairs. It is not in any sense a political party, nor a group serving the purposes of any political party, nor shall it serve any individual's personal ambitions.

The policies of the Society on all issues are developed by open debate in Units, Councils and especially at the State and National Conventions. These policies on important issues are clearly stated in the State and National Platforms and Programs, issued after each convention. These Platforms, the "Steuben News," and direct communications convey our stand to the public, to our government and to our elected representatives.

THE STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA

At the turn of the century there was a strong indication that the future looked brighter and more promising for the German element in the United States. Aware of the great advantages of having a centralized organization, a small group of representative citizens of the various States decided to call a meeting to be held in Philadelphia to form a national organization. This organization was to be called the National German-American Alliance, and its aims were to be solely for the "purpose of promoting everything that is good in German character and culture, and that might accrue to the benefit and welfare of the whole American nation."

This meeting was called and took place on October 6, 1901, in the hall of the German Society of Pennsylvania. The business of the day was "combined with a celebration of the 'German Day' in commemoration of the landing of the German Pilgrims in Philadelphia on October 6, 1683." The principles adopted by this new organization were on the highest level of loyalty, patriotism, and devotion to their adopted country. "In recognition of this fact, the Alliance was, after a painstaking investigation of its aims and purposes, incorporated on February 27, 1907, by an Act of Congress."

"In accordance with its principles, the German-American Alliance promoted the culture of gymnastics, song, music, art, literature and the study of foreign languages. By lifting its members from the narrow limits of club life, it induced them to acquire the right of citizenship as soon as they were legally entitled to it, in order that they participate in all affairs of public life." The committees of the Alliance made various studies and offered certain suggestions for the "preservation and wise utilization of all natural resources of our country." By establishing Junior Orders it attempted "to inspire the younger generation to continue the good work of their fathers, and to display the same industriousness, enterprise and patriotism." Through these many works the Alliance "strove in many directions to win recognition for its motto: 'Always true to our adopted country; ever ready to risk all for its welfare; respecting the law, and sincere and unselfish in the duties of citizenship.'"

When the World War came and ill feelings toward Germany became common, the National German-American Alliance decided to dissolve of its own accord. (Senator William H. King of Utah introduced a bill to repeal the Charter of the Alliance.) The Alliance dissolved voluntarily on April 13, 1918, "a month before the charter was repealed. The funds of the Alliance, amounting to \$30,000, were turned over to the American Red Cross."

Shortly after this some suggestions were made to form a new society, but a decision was postponed. Finally, in the spring of 1919, a group of men, all from New York, held meetings and discussed the idea of a new society. Thus, the "Steuben Society of America, an organization of American citizens of

German descent in honor and commemoration of the maker of the American Army," was founded. "The Society's Creed is:

"One country—A country so fair, tolerant and just that all who live in it, may love it.

"One flag—An American flag for American purposes only.

"One language—The language of truth spoken in any tongue in which one chooses to speak it."

The aims and purposes of the Society are on the highest plane of patriotism, of devotion, and of service to America. They stand for the support of the U.S. Constitution; for aid in defending the independence and sovereignty of the U.S.; for urging its members to participate in all phases of national life; for offering guidance to its members in making them better citizens of their adopted country; and for helping in "reestablishing that harmonious, neighborly cooperation and feeling of solidarity among the various racial elements of our composite population which existed before the World War."

September 17, the birth date of General Steuben, has been designated "Steuben Day" which will be celebrated "with patriotic speeches and other entertainments fit for such an occasion." The first "Steuben Day" was held in 1922 in New York with more than 1500 members in attendance.

RESOLUTION 1. THE WARREN RESIGNATION?

Resolution adopted by the 23d National Convention of the Steuben Society of America in St. Louis, Mo., August 20-25, 1968

Whereas: Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court has presented his resignation to President Lyndon B. Johnson, without specifying a date of resignation, but, is reported to have made the resignation conditional upon the appointment and affirmation by the Senate of a new Chief Justice, raising the question, whether, in fact, a vacancy on the court now exists; and

Whereas: Justice Warren has stated that in the event the Senate does not confirm by giving its advice and consent to the nomination of the current nominee, he would withdraw his designation. We maintain that, in fact, no vacancy does now exist; and

Whereas: This is tantamount to dictating to the Senate, the Congress and the People of the United States, by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as to who shall serve on that body; and

Whereas: Such form of resignation is highly irregular in the annals of the court;

Now therefore be it resolved that: We petition the Senate to refrain from giving its advice and consent to this nomination; and be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be submitted to the members of the United States Senate and other authorities concerned.

RESOLUTION 2. THE INJUSTICES OF THE SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT

A resolution adopted by the 23d National Convention of the Steuben Society of America in St. Louis, Mo., August 20-25, 1968

Whereas: The participation in the National Defense of the United States of America is the legal and moral obligation of all citizens and well trained armed forces are a necessity in these perilous times; and

Whereas: In order to fulfill these obligations it has been necessary to impose military training on our men; and

Whereas: There are many inequities and injustices in the present Selective Service Act and much dissension and evasion is taking place today, and while the reasons for some are fundamentally wrong, there is an urgent need for certainty in the Selective Service policies in order that our youth may be apprised of their obligations and commitments for military services.

Now therefore be it resolved that the Congress immediately come forth with a new and completely equitable program of Selective Service to rectify the present chaotic situation.

RESOLUTION 3. THE TAKEOVER OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A resolution adopted by the 23d National Convention of the Steuben Society of America in St. Louis, Mo., August 20-25, 1968

Whereas: The free world has been shocked by the recent criminal invasion of Czechoslovakia by troops of Soviet Russia and several subservient Warsaw Pact nations, and;

Whereas: The Steuben Society of America has throughout the years reaffirmed its stand for all nations' right of self-determination, and;

Whereas: The Steuben Society of America has stated its opposition to the doctrines and practices of Communism, and;

Whereas: The Steuben Society of America has continually advocated non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations by military or other means, and;

Whereas: The invasion of Czechoslovakia violates the Charter of the United Nations.

Now therefore be it resolved: That this convention hereby condemns most strongly the barbarous invasion and take-over of Czechoslovakia and that we recommend to our national leaders that we withdraw all financial and material assistance to all nations that have troops participating in the take-over of Czechoslovakia.

Further, that our government be urged to stop all future aid to any nation whose government indicates a design to subjugate other nations. Further, that our government take all other necessary steps to effectuate the intent of this resolution.

RESOLUTION 4. THE ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT

A resolution adopted by the 23d National Convention of the Steuben Society of America in St. Louis, Mo., August 20-25, 1968

Whereas: The Supreme Court in the so called "one-man, one-vote" decision has rendered unconstitutional at least one house of most of the state legislatures; and

Whereas: representation to many areas of some states would in fact be denied representation under this rule; and

Whereas: There has been submitted to the states, a proposed amendment to the constitution to remedy this situation.

Now therefore be it resolved that: The Steuben Society of America urges support for the proposed amendment to our federal constitution to permit state legislatures to have one house of the legislature to be composed of members elected on a geographical consideration rather than by population.

RESOLUTION 5. BALANCED BUDGETS AND INFLATION

A resolution adopted by the 23d National Convention of the Steuben Society of America in St. Louis, Mo., August 20-25, 1968

Whereas: The Federal budget deficit for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, exceeded the unbelievable amount of 25.4 billion dollars; and

Whereas: The massive federal deficit spending has now reached the highest level since World War II; and

Whereas: The persistent deficits of the federal government have generated oceans of inflation and caused our currency to be depreciated in buying power; and

Whereas: This trend of succeeding deficits and lack of fiscal control threatens our entire economic future and stability as a nation;

Now therefore be it resolved that: The

Steuben Society of America, hereby resolves, calls and implores all Americans to demand that the Federal government immediately halt deficit spending and require that balanced budgets be the order of the day so that inflation shall be halted and economic stability again be restored before our nation is plunged into a sea of economic disaster; and

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to all political parties having candidates for the office of President of the United States in the coming election, for their guidance and information.

RESOLUTION 6. REDUCTION OF NATIONAL DEBT

A resolution adopted by the 23d National Convention of the Steuben Society of America in St. Louis, Mo., August 20-25, 1968

Whereas: The fiscal stability of our nation has been seriously threatened by continual deficits in our budget; and

Whereas: There have occurred instances of appropriated money for foreign aid and other purposes which have remained unspent from one fiscal period to another,

Now therefore be it resolved that: This convention go on record as urging the next congress of the United States to enact legislation to provide that all such unspent moneys shall be used to reduce the existing national debt and for no other purpose.

RESOLUTION 7. RECENT UNIVERSITY STUDENT "SIT-INS"

A resolution adopted by the 23d National Convention of the Steuben Society of America in St. Louis, Mo., August 20-25, 1968

Whereas: we have noted with dismay the recent succession of so called student "sit-ins" at such leading universities as the University of California at Berkeley, Columbia University and Northwestern University, to name only a few; and

Whereas: The University Administrators have tolerated such unlawful conduct on the part of the students and in many instances rewarded it; and

Whereas: These student "sit-ins" by a small percentage of the total enrollment at said universities has disrupted the entire educational process; and

Whereas: The purpose of a university is to educate and develop the character of an individual in a climate of intellectual freedom unimpaired by anarchy; and

Whereas: Tax supported or private endowed institutions of higher learning do not have as their purpose the encouragement of mob rule and anarchy;

Now therefore be it resolved that: The Steuben Society of America condemns all unlawful Student "sit-ins" and other unlawful activity and recommends that university administrators resort to immediate disciplinary action and punishment under law when necessary to correct such improper student action.

RESOLUTION 8. COMMEMORATIVE STAMP FOR JOHN AUGUSTUS ROEBLING

A resolution adopted by the 23d National Convention of the Steuben Society of America in St. Louis, Mo., August 20-25, 1968

Whereas: Construction of the Brooklyn Bridge was commenced in 1869; and

Whereas: Its design and engineering and the manufacture and use of wire cable therein by John Augustus Roebling were without precedent in America; and

Whereas: The said John Augustus Roebling was a naturalized citizen of German origin whose life and work were in the best tradition of the United States.

Now therefore be it resolved that: The Steuben Society of America respectfully requests that the Postmaster General of the United States issue a 100th anniversary com-

memorative stamp in honor of John Augustus Roebling and the Brooklyn Bridge.

1968-70 PLATFORM AND PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL, STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA

Adopted by the 23d Biennial National Convention—St. Louis, Mo., August 20-25, 1968

PREAMBLE

In these times of increasing interdependence of nations, of newly enfranchised peoples and of social and political upheaval, the tremendous challenges confronting the United States of America compel us to champion the priceless heritage of freedom passed on to us by our forefathers and to affirm the principles of government rooted in the dignity of the individual and the equality of citizens, no matter what their race, color or creed, and to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States.

We condemn all attempts by all groups to take the law into their own hands under any pretext whatsoever.

As are all guaranteed constitutional rights, Civil Rights are indivisible and must be applied to all persons alike.

PLATFORM

Firmly pledged to these convictions, we submit the following Platform and Program:

1. Government system

(a) We reaffirm our faith in, and pledge our allegiance to, the system of government as set forth in our Constitution: the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judiciary, each adhering to the duties assigned to it by the constitution.

(b) We advocate that any change in our system of government be made by the constitutionally directed process of amendment.

(c) We urge that all concepts of an all-powerful central government and welfare state be rejected.

(d) We support legislation which would revise the Electoral College system so the votes of the Electors may be cast in proportion to the popular vote cast for each candidate for President and Vice President in the fifty States.

(e) We advocate a constitutional amendment to make Executive international pacts and agreements subject to the advice and consent of the Senate as are international treaties.

(f) The Constitution provides that Federal Judges shall be nominated by the President, and appointed "by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate," by majority vote, "during good Behavior."

We propose that the Constitution be amended to terminate the appointment on the judge's 70th birthday.

We maintain that the Senate has the power and the duty to prescribe a standard for "good" judicial "Behavior."

(h) We favor a roll call in both Houses of Congress on all bills and measures involving the expenditures of moneys.

(i) We urge the Congress to establish a United States Foreign Service Academy comparable to the Academies for our Military Services, to assure personnel of highest caliber and loyalty for the Department of State and the Diplomatic Service.

2. Communism—Subversion

(a) We propose to fight the doctrines and practices of communism and other forms of subversion.

(b) We advocate the exclusion or dismissal of all Communists and other proponents of subversion from public office and any other positions of public trust, and endorse the continuance of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

3. National defense

(a) We reaffirm: Congress has the sole power to declare war.

(b) We advocate adequate preparation for the defense of our country with the most sophisticated weapons. In the event of a constitutionally declared war, all the resources of the country as well as its manpower, shall be made available as the Congress shall prescribe.

(c) We urge a revision of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 to remove its injustices and uncertainties.

(d) We strongly urge the continuance of reserve forces for the defense of our Country and that the National Guard be continued.

4. Space agency

We recommend that all space planning and development be accomplished through the joint efforts of the Federal Government within sound budgetary allotments and private industry.

5. Foreign affairs

(a) General: Conscious of the gravity of world problems, we advocate that our Government in its relations with other nations pursue policies which embody these concepts:

(1) The interdependence of the free world, of which we form an integral part, is the harsh reality of international life; however, the unity, friendship, and economic well-being of all the nations in our own hemisphere should have priority in United States diplomacy.

(2) We urge the exercise of caution in entering into international agreements, pacts, commitments and treaties.

(3) Admission to the United Nations of newly independent countries and the exercise of the full powers and rights of such membership shall be based upon national stability and political maturity. Member nations shall be denied a vote during delinquency in payments of their assessments.

(4) The constitutional guarantees and the sovereignty of the United States must not be surrendered to any supranational or world government.

(b) Foreign Aid: We urge that all authorizations and appropriations for foreign aid be curtailed and its distribution rigorously supervised "on the spot" in the nations receiving such aid. No aid shall be given Communist or Communist-controlled nations, or nations failing to co-operate with the United States to solve its balance of payments problems.

Expropriation of American property without equitable compensation shall disqualify recipients from such aid. The principle of the sanctity of private property must not be bargained away in international agreements.

(c) Self-Determination: We advocate that the government of the United States pursue its traditional policy of giving moral and material assistance to the reunification of Germany and all other nations which have been partitioned and are striving to reunite under the age-old law of self-determination.

We endorse the observance of Captive Nations Week.

(d) Common Market:

(1) We favor close cooperation with the European Common Market. However, should the Common Market take any action prejudicial to any segment of our economy, we recommend that the Federal Government take such supportive measures necessary to preserve our competitive position.

(2) We favor the establishment of a Common Market in our own hemisphere to obtain the potentials inherent in a Common Market.

(e) Metric System: As an instrument of industrial and commercial efficiency, we advocate adoption of the Metric System.

6. Immigration

(a) We firmly believe that the immigration laws must serve the best interests of our Nation and all of its people and that the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 be

amended to correct present inadequacies therein, so as to achieve the intended goal of this legislation.

7. Taxation

We believe that current methods of taxation are confiscatory and tend toward the destruction of our free institutions; therefore we advocate that studies now under way of both Federal and State tax systems be expedited to achieve a more equitable tax structure.

8. Currency and balanced budget

(a) We advocate a return to sound fiscal policies directed toward a balanced budget, the maintenance of a sound currency and constant appraisal of administrative operations directed toward economy and increased efficiency in government functions.

(b) We recommend that the national debt be amortized annually.

9. Government subsidies

(a) We believe that the granting of subsidies should not be made a permanent Federal policy. Consequently, we advocate that existing subsidies, except where required for defense purposes or to meet foreign competition, be eliminated in an orderly manner so that our domestic production and markets will not be adversely affected.

(b) We advocate that United States "Counterpart Funds" be made available at low exchange rates to Americans traveling or staying in countries where such funds exist.

10. Government Employment—Civil Service

(a) We believe that government service should be fostered as a career.

(b) Qualifications for employment by the Federal Government under Civil Service jurisdiction should be based on merit only.

(c) We advocate that any public servant who under oath shall refuse to answer questions concerning his or her loyalty to this Nation, shall be suspended and his or her remuneration shall cease.

(d) Officials in positions of policy-making power shall not be protected by civil service status.

(e) We vigorously oppose the weakening of the present provisions of the Hatch Act as it applies to Government employees.

11. Veterans

We advocate that veterans receive adequate care from our Government for service-connected disabilities.

12. Business, capital and labor

(a) We advocate fair and effective enforcement of laws designed to prevent monopoly and restraint of trade, by capital and labor. The ability of small business to compete in a free market must be preserved.

(b) We believe that the incentive and initiative of the individual must be encouraged, and that government should not compete with private industry.

(c) We maintain that the public interest demands that labor and management discharge their responsibilities to achieve industrial peace and maximum efficiency in production in order to halt the wage-price spiral, and to enable the United States to compete with other countries for world trade.

(d) We advocate that labor and management take more effective measures to restrain employees whose jobs may be abolished through automation.

(e) We advocate legislation to set up binding arbitration procedure in all cases where labor and management have failed to come to an agreement in order to prevent any work stoppages affecting vital public needs, national defense, or any federal, state or municipal government operations.

(f) We favor the trial of unfair labor practice cases in Federal district courts.

Complainants should have the alternative right to present their own cases, or to have local U.S. attorneys present them.

13. Education

(a) We oppose any attempt at Federal Control of education via Federal aid to education. The principle of separation of church and state faces a serious challenge by Federal aid to parochial schools.

(b) The knowledge of foreign languages is essential for completion of scientific courses in most of our educational institutions, and for cultural, scientific, political and economic intercourse among nations. Among the foreign languages, the study of German is a more critical need and should be more effectively encouraged.

(c) We believe that school books treating with historical and cultural subjects should be based upon accurate unbiased research. We advocate that courses in the history of the United States and of civil government be required subjects in the curricula of all our institutions of learning.

We condemn all attempts to use educational institutions for the furthering of private interests or for propagation of ideas subversive to our form of government. We advocate the continued study by Government agencies and private organizations of the manifold problems facing youth today.

14. Social security

(a) We advocate that funds collected under the Social Security Act be earmarked and used exclusively in payment of social security benefits.

(b) We advocate that social security benefits be paid to all those entitled thereto, regardless of any other income.

(c) We favor the voluntary medical insurance plan. Any extension of either the fields and/or scope of coverage beyond the present law must be on a self-sustaining sound financial basis.

15. Public health, narcotics and drugs

(a) We urge more stringent laws to control the import, manufacture and traffic in narcotics and hallucinatory drugs.

Maximum penalties must be made mandatory for the criminal pusher.

Recent Supreme Court decisions make a new approach necessary to the effective apprehension, prosecution and conviction of the violator.

(b) We advocate a comprehensive program of education on the dangers of narcotics and said drugs. We should modernize and humanize our Federal laws, so the victimized addicts may receive medical treatment, assistance and rehabilitation.

(c) We propose that maximum precautions be exercised in the use of chemicals and biological agents in products intended for public use or consumption. We urge continued measures to effectuate the objectives of the Pure Food and Drug Act.

(d) We urge the Federal Government to intensify its efforts in cooperation with the States to eliminate the pollution of our air and all bodies of water.

(e) We favor the establishment of regional medical programs to combat the major illnesses, such as heart disease, cancer and others.

16. Conservation

(a) We favor the conservation, development and effective control of our Nation's natural resources and their sound utilization for the present and future welfare of the people.

(b) We advocate the strict enforcement of the laws protecting our National Parks, all bodies of water, forests and all other natural resources affecting our national economy. We urge the preservation and protection of our monuments.

17. Historic preservation

The enhancement and protection of places which remind us of our heritage are matters of government concern and further provision therefore should be made by the Congress for such preservation.

MIAMI HERALD FAVORS FIRM U.S. STAND IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I believe that Members of the House will be interested in an editorial which appeared in the Miami Herald urging the United States to adopt a firm stance in the Middle East.

The editorial aptly points out that Russian designs on the Eastern Mediterranean can permanently alter the balance of power in that area and lead to a world conflict.

To forestall this possibility, the editorial urges that the United States make perfectly plain its national interest in the Middle East and commit itself to the continued existence of Israel through a mutual defense agreement.

Mr. Speaker, this is precisely the course which I have urged on our Government in my House Resolution 1185, which I introduced in the House of Representatives on May 23 of this year.

I urge that this proposal be given immediate attention by our Government.

Mr. Speaker, the text of the Miami Herald editorial follows:

TOUGH LINE IN MIDEAST IS PROPER U.S. STANCE

A "cease-fire" in the Middle East apparently is only a license to fire at will. Once again the big guns sound along Suez. And once again they speak not only of war between Egypt and Israel but of the dangerous Soviet involvement in this sensitive quarter of the world.

Like it or not, the United States cannot escape its own involvement. The Presidential candidates this year sense that and are committed to the defense of Israel by one means or another.

None of this has deterred the Arab states. Recently President Nasser of Egypt informed King Hussein of Jordan that he will be ready by 1970 to fight the "war of revenge" against Israel.

In Iraq, whose socialist government was overthrown by one which is equally nationalistic, General Bakr's junta has announced that it does not intend to resume diplomatic relations with the United States.

The pattern of build-up is familiar. Indeed, if history notoriously repeats itself the Middle East is a clear example. Five years ago David Ben Gurion wrote in his book, Israel: Years of Challenge, how "After the war of independence, we offered our hand in peace to the Arabs who had tried to destroy us, but they rejected it. The armistice agreements were not honored, and the Arab states warred against us by boycott and blockade, and by sending marauders across our borders. During the first nine months of 1955, incursions from the Gaza Strip alone cost us 153 dead and wounded..."

At the center of this pattern stands Russia, which is building up its air and naval strength in the Mediterranean area while supplying most of the Arab states with arms. The Times of London sees in this "a shift in the hitherto accepted balance of East-West power" which is of "much greater significance than the permanent posting of Russian troops in Czechoslovakia."

The latest surge in fighting does not necessarily presage a fourth round of the war but it is the kind of incident that could mushroom into a world conflict. Taking it to the United Nations Security Council, as Israel has done, is proper but probably futile.

The big powers have it within their means to cool off the Middle East if they communicate. But this they cannot seem to do. To repeat what we have said many times before, it is important that the U.S. make perfectly plain its national interest in the Middle East and its opposition to so-called wars of revenge. In short, it must commit itself to the continued existence of Israel through a mutual defense agreement. There is no answer to a tough line in these circumstances other than one just as tough.

LOS ANGELES REPRESENTATIVE EDWARD R. ROYBAL MAKES HIS 18TH REPORT FROM WASHINGTON TO THE RESIDENTS OF CALIFORNIA'S 30TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, one of the important responsibilities of a Member of Congress is to fully inform his constituents about his activities on their behalf in the Nation's Capital.

For that reason, I would like to include in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of my 18th report from Washington to the residents of the 30th Congressional District of California.

In addition to my regular series of reports from Washington, I have also sent out 14 special reports designed to cover all other major items of legislation considered by Congress, events of national and international significance, and particularly, those matters of immediate concern to the Metropolitan Los Angeles and southern California area.

My 18th report from Washington follows:

COLORADO RIVER AGREEMENT

One of the longest and most famous water fights in the history of the West was settled by Congress this year when it gave final approval to the Colorado River Basin Project—the largest reclamation program ever authorized in a single piece of legislation.

I joined with the other members of a united California Congressional Delegation (representing all shades of political opinion and every section of the State) in sponsoring this historic compromise measure—designed to end a bitter interstate feud over use of Colorado River water that had been going on since 1922, while at the same time protect California's vital water rights in this life-giving river/artery of America's Great Southwest.

The bill guarantees Golden State water users 4.4 million 'acre-feet' annually from the Colorado, and provides a start toward the goal of a comprehensive regional water resources development program to include all the 11 States with territory West of the Continental Divide.

An act of true water statesmanship, the Colorado River legislation is an excellent example of how serious differences and basic conflicts in American life can be resolved peacefully and to the ultimate advantage of all concerned—whenever men of good will sit down together, discard narrow partisan interests, and work out equitable solutions to their mutual problems by dealing fairly with all interested parties.

FIVE MILLION DOLLAR GRANT FOR DOWNTOWN LOS ANGELES

I was pleased to announce approval of an additional \$5.4 million federal grant for

our downtown Bunker Hill development complex—bringing total government assistance for the project so far to over \$21 million.

The 136 acre high-density residential and commercial development plan is expected ultimately to attract a combined public and private investment of some \$500 million and go a long way toward helping revitalize downtown Los Angeles.

Based on a study by the world renowned architect, I. M. Pei, the Bunker Hill project will increase the density of development in the area, re-align Flower and Hope streets to expedite through-traffic and provide direct access to parking, offer an ultramodern multi-level hilltop street system which will separate pedestrians and vehicular traffic, and provide a series of three concentrations of major high-rise buildings.

INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I have joined with a bipartisan majority of the Committee in co-authoring a sharply worded resolution calling on Congress to condemn the brutal Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia as a "flagrant violation of Czechoslovakia's territorial integrity and political independence, an affront to human rights, and an unlawful use of force contrary to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and of international law."

This tragic subjugation of a people struggling to regain at least a measure of independence ranks with the Hungarian suppression of 1956, the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, and the Cuban Missile crisis of 1962 as visible proof of the failure of the communist system to fulfill the elemental human aspiration for an opportunity to live and grow in an atmosphere of personal dignity and freedom.

It should also serve as a timely warning to us all of the continuing need to maintain our NATO Defense Alliance in a strong and vigilant posture so that there will never be any question of our ability or willingness to adequately protect this Nation's vital interests whenever and wherever they may be threatened.

JOBS

The American free enterprise system has again demonstrated dynamic leadership qualities by coming to grips with and finding practical, common sense, workable answers to some of today's most difficult urban problems.

A recent example of this encouraging development is the remarkable success of the new JOBS (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector) program of the National Alliance of Businessmen, organized under the direction of Henry Ford II and working in close cooperation with such outstanding private industry groups as the National Association of Manufacturers.

In the first four months of operation, the JOBS program has already recruited nearly 70,000 hard-core unemployed—running far ahead of its goal to hire, train, and find permanent jobs by next summer for 150,000 men and women who are now out-of-school and out-of-work.

I enthusiastically support this kind of healthy industry-government partnership, and have introduced legislation in Congress, H.R. 17567, to provide American businessmen with a federal tax credit as an additional incentive for private enterprise to invest in nationwide job expansion programs.

GORDON L. McDONOUGH

Los Angeles County lost one of her most outstanding public servants in the passing of Gordon L. McDonough, my predecessor as a Representative in Congress, and previously a member of the County Board of Supervisors—with a distinguished record of over 30 years of service to the citizens of Los Angeles.

For those who were privileged to have

known Gordon McDonough, he set a personal example of the highest standard of sincere, dedicated, and capable public service. His passing is deeply regretted.

CALIFORNIA WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM

Joe Pollard, Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors' Washington Representative, outlines the new \$6 million, federal-state-county work incentive (WIN) program designed to give some 6,500 Los Angeles area welfare recipients a chance of training and jobs—thus enabling them to move off the county welfare rolls and into productive employment.

Part of a nationwide effort approved by Congress last year, the WIN program will provide nearly 100,000 unemployed Americans (16,000 in California alone), who are now receiving AFDC public assistance payments, with worthwhile job opportunities this year.

If administered properly, this new work incentive program can go a long way toward helping relieve our nation's increasing tax burden, while offering citizens a real chance to become contributing members of society, able to support themselves and their families in dignity and play a useful role in their home communities.

PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Due to the dangerous imbalance of military power that has existed for some time in the Middle East—posing a continuing threat to the fragile peace and stability of that volatile region—I introduced a resolution, H. Res. 1267, in the House earlier this year to express the sense of Congress that the United States should not stand idly by while the Arab nations rapidly re-armed with military equipment supplied by Soviet Russia and other Eastern European countries.

My resolution also declared that until permanent peace is achieved and the arms race ended, the U.S. should sell sufficient advanced military jet fighters to the Government of Israel to provide a deterrent force capable of preventing future aggression in the Middle East.

I am happy to report that this "sense of Congress" approach has now been adopted by both the House and Senate as a warning to those who would attempt to disrupt the precarious stability of this area, and ignite a spark that could easily involve the world in another tragic and unnecessary war.

We all earnestly hope that the major powers, as well as those nations most directly concerned, will be able to find a basis for an enduring and workable peace—and thus begin to look beyond the present conflicts and tension toward a new, more promising era of greater security for all.

But, until that day arrives, a realistic analysis of the situation would seem to give us little alternative but to try to maintain some kind of deterrent balance between the opposing sides—as the best practical way of keeping the peace in that ancient and strategic crossroads of civilization.

SERVICE ACADEMY EXAMS

All young men from the 30th District who are interested in competing for 1969 nominations to the Air Force, Naval, Military, or Merchant Marine Academies should plan to take the U.S. Civil Service Commission's special Academy Designation Exam scheduled to be given in Los Angeles during October and again in November. For more information, contact our District office on 688-4870.

YOUTH AND BUSINESS

Wallace Jamie, director of public relations for the Carnation Company in Los Angeles, stopped at the Capitol during a recent trip to Washington, to discuss achievements of the government's Head Start and Upward Bound programs in Southern California.

Jamie, a leader in promoting youth-oriented programs aimed at improving edu-

cation and job training, has been particularly active with the Youth Opportunities Foundation, an industry-supported foundation which provides college scholarships and other educational assistance for young men and women in our low income areas.

REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK

A half century of disagreement in the battle to save California's giant redwood trees has been resolved by Congressional approval of a compromise bill establishing a 58,000 acre Redwood National Park along the Pacific Coast in Humboldt and Del Norte Counties.

As co-author of the original Redwood legislation, I had hoped for a substantially larger park area, but, under current budget and fiscal conditions, I believe the compromise agreement was a good one—providing a significant beginning toward a meaningful Redwood National Park—and representing one of the most notable conservation achievements of the 90th Congress.

Encompassing over 30,000 acres of virgin timber land, this historic action will include all of the largest and most impressive trees in both the Redwood Creek and Mill Creek drainage basins, and enable us to share with future generations of Americans this priceless California heritage of natural beauty and primeval forest.

WAR ON POVERTY

Los Angeles, already the recipient of more than \$75 million in federal anti-poverty assistance, is among the chief beneficiaries of this concerted new approach to solving the tragic paradox of extreme poverty for some 30 million disadvantaged citizens, in the midst of an all-time record prosperity for most Americans.

Recent grants and contracts awarded to benefit Los Angeles area residents include: \$7.6 million for Head Start pre-school training for children of low income families, including medical, dental, social and psychological services; some \$850,000 to the Youth Training and Employment Project for a series of basic education, vocational training and job placement programs for young people living in East Los Angeles; more than \$1 million to the Mexican American Opportunity Foundation for recruitment, in-depth counseling, job training and supplementary education; nearly \$1.3 million to provide a wide range of legal services to those low income residents of Los Angeles County who are unable to secure the services of an attorney; and over \$1 million to be matched by the Los Angeles City School System for a unique "New Careers" program for teacher aides and community relations specialists.

AT YOUR SERVICE

The members of my Congressional office staff in Washington, as well as those in our Los Angeles District Office, are anxious to help you in any way they can. Please continue to make full use of the many services available through our offices by contacting us whenever you feel we can be of personal assistance.

THE BACKWARD THREAT

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the threat and danger of a backward reactionary trend was noted by columnist Carl T. Rowan in a recent issue of the Washington Star.

This is a timely warning, Mr. Speaker, which I include with my remarks:

A BOLD AND BOASTFUL DASH BACKWARD

(By Carl T. Rowan)

Some observers are saying, with commendable charity, that the United States is retreating into an era of deep conservatism.

A look at the 90th Congress and the current political campaign suggests that what is happening is more serious than that.

Millions of Americans, perhaps a strong majority, seem to be saying: "We've had our fling with liberalism, with charity, with 'decency,' and all we got was new evidence that this is a cruel, ungrateful world. From now on we will play it mean and tough and rough."

Why would an observer conclude that some of the heart has gone out of this society, and that it now beckons an era of repression and reaction?

He would note that the House of Representatives has cut the foreign aid program to a point where the poor nations of the world must regard it either a joke or an insult.

He would observe that powerful forces in and out of Congress are now warring on the war on poverty, bidding to douse even the faint hope that has flickered among America's 26 million poor people.

He would sense a reversion to racism that is so strong that two presidential candidates are catering to it. He would hear Richard Nixon promise to halt even the present paltry efforts to enforce a 14-year-old school desegregation decree that has been so ignored, defied, and circumvented that it constitutes a national disgrace.

He would note a growing tendency of millions of Americans to believe that, if they just double the conviction rate, build more penitentiaries, and grant wider powers to more policemen, a tranquil age of law and order will be theirs.

It is not hard to find reasons to "justify" this shift in the American mood. We have put perhaps \$140 billion into foreign aid since World War II without producing a vocally grateful world, shaped in our image. We do find that, for all our welfare expenditures, America's poor are increasingly discontented. It is true that, even after passage of those civil rights laws and the hiring of a few black people at the front counters, Negroes are pouring their anger into the streets. Lawlessness does abound in every element of society with various minorities threatening to push it to the point of anarchy.

But all this does not negate the fact that the current American trend amounts to a retreat from responsibility, a rush from reason, a very dangerous flight from reality.

Consider the House's 45 percent cut in the foreign aid budget to a mere \$1.6 billion. This is Congress kissing off the Alliance for Progress, reneging on the promises of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. This is Americans saying that the "shark" of the hemisphere is going to hoard its wealth while the "sardines" of Latin America fend for themselves.

Some day down the road that callous gamble may cost us more in a Latin "Vietnam" than what we have spent in two decades of foreign aid.

And, of course, what this says to Asia and Africa is hardly likely to inspire anyone to emulate us or our institutions.

As for the reactionary drift on domestic matters, one wonders if any amount of talk or logic can reverse it. A "threatened" majority is indulging itself in a bellicose flexing of its muscles. The most bellicose believe that they have no security except to repress those who symbolize the threat. They believe their power so great that repression cannot possibly backfire into a greater tragedy.

Unhappily, the leaders of this conservative trend seem to have no eye for history or the lessons it might offer.

Apparently only the bitter taste of experience will reveal the price of this society's bold and boastful dash into the past.

PAUL O'DWYER FOR THE U.S. SENATE

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, the people of the State of New York have a unique opportunity to elect to the U.S. Senate a man who will measure up to the highest standards of integrity and performance in that body, Paul O'Dwyer, the distinguished Democratic candidate. Paul O'Dwyer became the Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate as a result of his victory in a historic primary, the first primary used in the State for the nomination of party candidates for statewide office.

Paul O'Dwyer is a distinguished member of the New York bar who has devoted a substantial part of his professional life and a substantial part of his nonprofessional interests to improving the lot of the oppressed, the underprivileged, the alienated, and the poor. Whenever injustice rears its ugly head, Paul O'Dwyer is near by, stripped for action, ready to do battle in the interests of justice.

Paul does not boast about his dedicated devotion to the cause of the underprivileged any more than he would boast about his breakfast menu. Fighting for the underdog is as much a necessity of life for Paul O'Dwyer as food, clothing, and shelter. Certainly there is no secret about his aid to Israel, when the new state came under attack from the Arabs immediately after its creation. The civil rights movement has had no firmer friend, and, as Sidney Zion, a perceptive reporter on the New York Times recently suggested, Paul O'Dwyer has handled civil rights cases so obscure that they did not rate even a line in the Negro press. And certainly no honest union, seeking to organize underpaid, underprivileged, minority groups of workers, need be concerned about legal fees, since Paul O'Dwyer unbounded talents can always be enlisted in support of its organizing efforts.

Although he is the Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate, Paul O'Dwyer has thus far refused to endorse the Democratic national ticket of HUMPHREY and MUSKIE. Inevitably his failure to do so has brought some threats of retaliation from some Democratic leaders in our State. I disagree with Paul O'Dwyer's refusal to support the Humphrey-Muskie ticket. Where the choice is HUBERT HUMPHREY on the one hand and on the other the likes of Richard M. Nixon or George C. Wallace, it is an affront to common sense to proclaim neutrality in speech, in spirit, and in support.

However, I disagree sharply with those Democratic leaders who either overtly or covertly plan such retaliation. Such action is clearly offensive to the policy made public by Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY and degrades the choice made by the enrolled voters of our party in an open primary. It is clear to me that threats of retaliation will have no effect upon Paul's ultimate judgment.

In fact that is a thing that singularly distinguishes Paul O'Dwyer from his Republican opponent. Paul is ever ready at the drop of a ballot to sacrifice electoral victory on the altar of his principles. In contrast to Paul, his Republican opponent is involved in a frenetic, contradictory, and schizophrenic effort simultaneously to engage with and disengage from the Nixon-Agnew ticket. While voicing his support for the Nixon-Agnew ticket, this Republican Senate candidate has attacked his national party candidates in a manner which would be defined as an unfair campaign practice if performed by a Democrat.

I believe it imperative for the Democrats in our State to unite behind the Senate candidacy of Paul O'Dwyer. A united party can elect Paul O'Dwyer, and Paul O'Dwyer's victory will carry not only New York State into the Humphrey-Muskie column but also the entire Nation.

"YOU ARE THE SALT OF THE EARTH"—A SERMON BY GUY F. HERSHBERGER, COLLEGE MENNONITE CHURCH, GOSHEN, IND., AUGUST 4, 1968

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege last month of listening to a most thoughtful sermon delivered by a distinguished religious leader in my congressional district, Dr. Guy F. Hershberger, of Goshen College.

The sermon, entitled "You Are the Salt of the Earth," was delivered at the College Mennonite Church on August 4, 1968.

The text of the sermon follows:

YOU ARE THE SALT OF THE EARTH¹

(By Guy F. Hershberger)

Salt is a substance necessary for physical health. Because of its importance ancient peoples used it as a symbol of that which is significant spiritually. Salt has qualities of cleansing, seasoning and preservation and thus it came to serve as a symbol for what is healthful, clean and pure, zestful, constant and durable in the spiritual realm. It was associated with godly things, just as a foul smell was associated with what is evil. For this reason it was brought into the cult of the Old Testament. Salt was sprinkled on offerings to God (Lev. 2:13). The ancients bathed newborn babies in a saline solution. Salt was used to drive away evil spirits. Because of its qualities of preservation, solemn agreements between persons became binding when the parties, after making their pledges to each other, sat down to eat together—bread and salt. This is the covenant of salt referred to in Numbers 18:19. In 2 Chr. 13:5 the wickedness of Jeroboam in rebelling against the throne of David is decried as all the greater because what he did was done in violation of a covenant of salt.

Health, cleansing, seasoning, preservation—these are qualities associated with salt, and these are the qualities Jesus had in mind when he said in the Sermon on the Mount:

¹ A sermon, College Mennonite Church, Goshen, Ind., Aug. 4, 1968 Text: Mark 9: 33-50; Matt. 5: 13.

"You Are the Salt of the Earth." Jesus uses the expression in the context of Christian discipleship. A disciple is a follower of Christ, and the follower of Christ must be salt, bringing health to human society.

In Luke 14:25-35 Jesus tells the disciples that if they would follow him they must count the cost, and be prepared to carry on to the finish. They must have the qualities of endurance—the lasting, preserving, constant qualities of salt. For a church to be the church—that is a body of disciples—there must be harmony and peace within. In Mark 9 Jesus rebuked the disciples for their factionalism, and said: "Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace with one another."

What does this mean for Christians in Goshen in 1968?

Let us note a few specifics by way of illustration:

First, it means that when Christ calls his disciples the Salt of the Earth he is conferring upon them an amazing title. Those first disciples? A little band of 12 men? They the healers and preservers of the world? Yes, this little band of 12 men and every Christian who follows in their train. Yes you and I, insignificant though we be. But remember, the quantity of salt in any meal is never large. A pinch of salt, the recipes read—and it is this little pinch that makes all the difference in the world. As one cross on Calvary was sufficient to provide salvation for all men; as 10 righteous men saved the ancient city of Sodom; so small handfuls of faithful disciples in innumerable instances have been the remnant that rescued society from its own decay. No matter how insignificant you may think you are, your task is to be here in this world touching the decaying life, there to heal and through the power of God to redeem.

What does it mean to be the Salt of the Earth? It means in the second place that we must have a sound doctrine of salvation: Not a superficial, legalistic view of the atonement which says merely that Christ paid for our sins, bringing inner gladness to the soul, which is ours to enjoy, ever resting sweetly resting, and leave it at that. No—the atonement means much more than this. It means being born again, made anew, becoming at-one with Christ, laboring together with him, taking up our cross even as he took up his cross, and following him, doing his work in the world. To be the Salt of the Earth means to walk the way of the cross, as Paul describes it in Galatians 2:20: "I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me."

What does it mean to be the Salt of the Earth? It means in the third place that we Christians must be an evangelizing fellowship of believers, working together for the advancement of the Kingdom. The final instruction of Jesus to the disciples was: Go forth, teach all peoples, and baptize them. God sent his Son that *whosoever* believeth may be saved. This *whosoever* is an important word here. In New Testament days the *whosoever* meant Jews and Gentiles, and Jews regarded Gentiles as dogs. In Menno Simons' day it meant German, Roman, and Turk, and in his day the Turk was the symbol of about everything that Europeans despised, and made people's hairs stand on end about as the sound of the word communist does to Americans today.

Christians have trouble learning what *whosoever* really means. Three times Peter on the house top in Joppa refused to eat the animals which in a vision had been sent for his meal, insisting that they were dirty, until the Lord took these "dirty" creatures straight to heaven, with the stinging rebuke: "It is not for you to call profane what God counts clean" (Acts 10:15). Not until he had thought long and hard on these words, and then had witnessed the receiving of the Holy Spirit by the Gentiles, was he able to welcome them into the fellowship of the church and say:

"Truly I perceive that God shows no partiality, but in every nation any one who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him" (Acts 10:34-35). The obvious lesson here is that *whosoever* responds to the Gospel of Christ today, be he black or white, rich or poor, or *whosoever*, is to be received into the fellowship as a full participant, without distinction or discrimination.

What does it mean to be the Salt of the Earth? It means in the fourth place that we must give attention to the weightier matters of the law, as Jesus says in Matthew 23: "Woe to you . . . hypocrites! For you tithe mint and dill and cummin, and have neglected the weightier matters of the law, justice and mercy and faith." There is nothing wrong with owning property, for example, but when Christians are more concerned about their property rights than they are about the human and spiritual welfare of their neighbors they are no longer the Salt of the Earth. A few years ago when the Mennonite Biblical Seminary in Elkhart sold a building lot to a family whose color was different some very religious neighbors came to protest, even bringing a Bible to prove their case. As usual in such cases, one of the objections was that property values would come down. Happily, one of the objectors later had a conversion experience something like that of Peter when he had the vision of the sheet coming down from heaven. Incidentally, the house has since been built on the lot, the property is well cared for and the value of the neighboring properties has not deteriorated. We should be grateful to the Seminary for its refusal to be intimidated in the face of great opposition (the Ku Klux Klan at one point burned a cross on the Seminary grounds), for in that which they did here they were the Salt of the Earth. They did something to keep that particular spot in Elkhart County from deteriorating in the way of racial hatred and economic selfishness. Our property rights are a lesser matter of the law. The neighbor's human welfare is the weightier matter.

What does it mean to be the Salt of the Earth? It means in the fifth place that we as citizens of the Kingdom of God must not confuse the Kingdom with some other kind of kingdom. Some people seem to think the United States, or the American way of life, is the Kingdom of God. Or the capitalist system is the Kingdom of God. In Germany 30 years ago there were some professing Christians who hailed Hitler as a Messiah and identified the Third Reich with the Kingdom of God. Then since Satan is the enemy of God, Christians who are thus confused conclude that any people or nation or economic system which is different from their own belongs to the kingdom of Satan. Since on the international scene the principal enemy of the west is supposed to be communism they become emotionally involved in a "holy war" against communism, and before they know it they are sure everything they don't like is communism and everybody whose policies or program they don't like is a communist. The State Department is full of communists, they say. Since the Supreme Court has stood out for the rights of black citizens, it too is tainted with communism. So Earl Warren must be impeached, and Abe Fortas must not become chief judge. Martin Luther King was a communist, the National Council of Churches is riddled with them, and even the RSV Bible, someone said, means Russian Standard Version. Absurd as these charges are, numerous religious radio broadcasts couched in pious language repeat this line so consistently that many Christian people come to believe it. Recently it has been proposed that Elkhart County participate in a proposed COG—a Council of Governments—the merits of which I don't profess to know, except that I am certain the proposal did not originate in the Kremlin. But, sure enough, a letter to the editor of the *Goshen News* a week or so ago actually

inquired whether COG was not a communist proposal.

(May I say, parenthetically, that a better knowledge of what is going on in the world might help people to get a more balanced view of matters such as these. But the reading which can produce such knowledge and such balance must go beyond the local newspaper and the *Readers Digest*.)

Atheistic communism is evil because it is atheistic, not necessarily because its economic system is different from ours. I personally prefer the free enterprise system to the opposite kind. But there are serious evils in both systems and it may well be that in some societies under certain conditions some other system is better than ours would be. At any rate, I don't think you can find the Bible supporting any one form of economic system, or any one type of government, and certainly not any one political party. The Bible recognizes that in this world there must be governments, that in this life people must have food and clothing and shelter, and that implies economics of some kind. But what form the government or the economy shall take is not said. It can take, and in the history of the world it has taken, many forms—and what the form is really doesn't matter. What does matter is that the people be Christians, seeking first the Kingdom of God, going forth in faith that whatever else is necessary will be added.

Once we come to this way of thinking we are in a position to take a Christian attitude toward the people who live in communist countries. We will endeavor to get acquainted with them and when we do so we will discover that there are many Christians among them, doing what they can to be the salt of that part of the earth. Then instead of fighting these people, whether in physical combat on the battle field, or by propaganda warfare by newspaper, radio or even from the pulpit, we will do what we can to reach them with Christian love, to extend the hand of fellowship to those who are Christians, and to win to Christ those who are not. To this end we must daily hold up in prayer our missionaries and relief workers in Vietnam who are truly a Salt of the Earth in that unhappy land. And we should rejoice that in their very difficult situation they have refused to identify themselves with the program of the American military and instead have witnessed against that program—a witness which has been put into print and has found its way into the hands of administrators and legislators alike in our government in Washington. To be the Salt of the Earth is not to confuse the Kingdom of God with some other kingdom, not even with the United States of America.

What does it mean to be the Salt of the Earth? It means, in the sixth place, that Christian disciples and the Church must be prophetic. A prophet is one who speaks for God. John the Baptist was a prophet. Jesus was a prophet, and more than a prophet. Great movements in the history of the church have always been led by prophets—men and women who had a vision of what God had to say for their time and then went forth to say it. The Anabaptist fathers were like that. Walter Rauschenbusch says it this way: The Anabaptist "communities were prophetic . . . the forerunners of the modern world. They stood against war, against capital punishment, against slavery, and against coercion in matters of religion before others thought of it." To do this they had to speak out against the beliefs and practices of many people who called themselves Christians—just as Jesus had to speak out against the beliefs and practices of the Scribes and Pharisees of his day. And, of course, when they did so they got into trouble. Jesus recognized it when he said a prophet is not honored in his own country. They finally put Jesus to death and also most of his 12 disciples. The same thing happened on a large scale in the sixteenth

century. And there may even be a few persons in our audience this morning who found themselves at least in the military guard house, if not in Leavenworth federal prison, during World War I when as conscientious objectors they stood out, and spoke out, against the evil of war.

So we must recognize that the role of the prophet is not always easy. Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy were assassinated because they spoke out against the evils of their day. Name whom you will among the prominent Americans who have suffered violent death in the past decade and everyone I think was a person who had spoken out against something in our society which he believed to be wrong and needed to be changed. A few may have been mistaken as to what was right. But the great majority, I believe, were speaking against specific evils which needed to be spoken against.

As Christians we must maintain a prophetic voice for that which God would have us proclaim. And we must not be deterred by fear lest some people be disturbed by what we do or say. There is always the temptation to shrink from opposition and be content to simply "mind our own business." The early Quakers were noted for their prophetic witness, carrying on what they called the "Lamb's war." (The Lamb's war is a spiritual, not a carnal war). But the time came when Quakers grew weary in well doing and when, as one of their historians says, their religion instead of being a delight to the Christian, became "an awful duty." Then when some of them felt the Spirit moving them back into the Lamb's war again the complacent London Yearly Meeting counseled them to "study to be quiet and mind your own business, remembering that the spiritual Jerusalem is a quiet habitation. . . ." Now I doubt if it is possible to find any New Testament teaching that we are to mind our own business. Jesus had to tell even Joseph and Mary that he had to be about his Father's business—not his own—and so must we, if we are to be the Salt of the Earth.

What does it mean to be the Salt of the Earth? It means in the seventh place that in 1968 we must do and say something about the climate of violence in which we live today in our country. This is not going to be easy because the American people have spent 350 years building up this climate. Read John A. Lapp's article in the August *Christian Living* to see what I mean. Even children's stories of the first Thanksgiving Day in Colonial Massachusetts are illustrated with pictures of pious Puritan preachers walking to church with muskets flung over their shoulders. From Puritan Massachusetts to the gold mining operations at Sutters Mill in California the American frontiersmen shot their way across the land, killing the Indians and the animals which fed them, and keeping order not by law but by the self-appointed vigilante with his six-shooter. The *Toronto Globe* said recently that the Americans pushed across the wilderness frontier ahead of the law, and the law has never quite caught up with them, even now. It is good, now and then, to read what other peoples have to say about us.

A hundred years ago Cornelius Vanderbilt declared he could not build the New York Central Railroad and pay any attention to the laws of New York. Ku Klux Klansmen ride at night even in our time to destroy churches and men who stand for the right. We live in a free-wheeling, individualistic gun culture which assumes that ownership of guns is a basic human right like the right to food, health, happiness, or freedom of religion. Pick-up trucks have their gunracks. Toy counters at Woolworths are loaded with guns and tanks for the training of our children in the art of violence. Small boys must be fitted out with cowboy suits and at least two guns in the holsters. Until the Houston

baseball players became Astronauts they were Colts. I had always thought the colts in whose honor they were named were horses until I visited Houston one time and learned that they were Colt revolvers.

Now when the public is becoming aroused about this gun culture the gun lobby is doing its best to prevent legislation for the registration and control of guns, and some are arguing piously that such would be unconstitutional because the second amendment says: "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." Would they have us believe that a gun in the hands of Sirhan Sirhan, James Earl Ray, or Lee Harvey Oswald constitutes a well-regulated militia? Who needs a gun anyway? And whoever does, who is he that he should object to its registration? Who is the congressman so remiss in his duty as to fail to support such necessary elementary steps for bringing order out of this chaotic situation? And finally, who is the Christian, who is the Mennonite, who does not feel moved to prophesy to his representative in Congress concerning this serious matter? Happily the congressmen of the third and fourth Indiana districts voted in favor of the mild bill recently passed by the House of Representatives, restricting a bit the mail order sale of arms (although not all Indiana congressmen did so). But this is not enough, and Congress should be urged to do more.

Then there is the television with its scenes of violence not fit for children to see. In the home where I grew up—and in which my children grew up—guns were never included in the play equipment, but I don't know whether this could have been said if these families had grown up in the TV age. For this reason I think Christians in this TV age have an obligation to pester the TV industry and the governmental agencies which regulate it until its programs cease to display violence and to feed the gun culture of our time. The TV and the mass media are in need of a generous dose of salt supplied by Christian people.

WHAT IF SALT LOSES ITS SAVOUR?

Now just a word about salt losing its savour. What does this mean? Chemists tell me that genuine salt—pure, unadulterated salt—never deteriorates. It always keeps its saltiness. Never loses its savour. In ancient times, however, when salt was scarce and costly, dishonest merchants adulterated their salt with other substances. Then when the salt leached out of the mixture what was left was no salt at all. So when Jesus spoke of salt losing its savour he was talking about the counterfeit residue which remained after the real stuff was gone.

Christians are the Salt of the Earth, placed here for its preservation and health. This morning we have noted just a few of the many things in our world today to which some Christian salt needs to be applied. Are we getting it done? If not what does this mean? Does it not mean that we are but counterfeit residue? That we are of no earthly good—and if not then of no heavenly use either. Jesus puts it in pretty plain words: "It is no good for the soil or for the manure pile; it is thrown away. Listen, then, if you have ears!"

SALT MAKES FOR A GOOD TASTE

One final word: Salt in the food makes for a good taste. Christians who are the Salt of the Earth leave a good taste wherever they go. "Let your speech always be gracious, seasoned with salt," says Paul (Col. 4:6). To be the Salt of the Earth is not to open ugly wounds and run in the salt with sandpaper. It is not to go about with a sour-puss, long face, hanging crepe on every door. For people over 60 it is not to assume the role of super-critic, censuring and decrying everything younger generations are doing. This

is a temptation of older people, especially if in their own best days they had over-rated their own indispensability. It might help those of us over 60 to remember now and then that Jesus was only 33 when he died. That Martin Luther was 34 when he nailed his 95 theses on the Wittenberg door. That Conrad Grebel founded the Anabaptist movement at 27. That Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence at 33. That Martin Luther King became the leader of black America at 27. That Robert Kennedy died at 42. That John F. Funk founded the *Herald of Truth* at 28. That Daniel Kauffman was an organizer and first moderator of the Mennonite General Conference at 33. That Harold S. Bender launched the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* on the road to the recovery of the Anabaptist vision at 29. That it was young conscientious objectors under 30 in the army camps of 1918 who by their steadfast faith paved the way for the kind of recognition which COs enjoy today. And that the 500 to 1,000 Mennonites presently engaged in Pax and voluntary service throughout the world are for the most part under 30. Indeed, one is tempted to ask whether the earth would not have the benefit of more Christian salt than is now the case if only there were a higher proportion of younger persons in positions of leadership.

But this Salt of the Earth business also has something to say to those who are under 30. They also must have salt with savour which leaves a good taste. Young cynics who scoff at their elders and decry everything done by those past 35 are doing serious harm to their own usefulness, and are themselves well on the road to becoming sour-puss old men, salt without savour. Go down the roll of young Mennonites in history called a few moments ago and see how they operated. They worked with their elders. They were laborers together with those who had gone before. They were established in the faith. They drew their inspiration from the Bible and the heroes of the Christian faith down through the centuries.

As one CO under 30 in World War I put it: "I do not believe that I am seeking martyrdom. . . . I want to go out into the world and make use of what little talent I may have acquired by long and laborious study. But . . . I dare not purchase these things at the price of eternal condemnation. I know the teaching of Christ my Saviour. He taught us . . . to love our enemies, to bless them that curse us, and do good to them that hate us. . . . We would indeed be hypocrites and base traitors to our profession if we would be unwilling to bear the taunts and jeers of a sinful world, and its imprisonment, and torture or death, rather than to participate in war and military service. We know that obedience to Christ will gain for us the glorious prize of eternal life. We cannot yield, we cannot compromise, we must suffer."

If the present generation under 30 is to make its contribution as the Salt of the Earth it must draw its inspiration from the same source that the author of this statement drew his—not from the flower children of San Francisco, nor from the so-called Students for a Democratic Society, nor from the extremists of Berkeley and Morningside Heights. The reformer too must have salt which has kept its taste. And when he speaks it will be with words of wisdom, seasoned with salt, so that even his enemies will inwardly like him even while outwardly disagreeing with him.

Salt gives zest to food, joy to the common affairs of the day, the zest of serenity, of trust, of worship. May our thoughts, our speech, and our acts, whether we are under 30, over 60, or in between, always be gracious, seasoned with salt, so that we may know what is proper to say and how to say it on every occasion. You are the Salt of the Earth, but if the salt has lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? Amen.

OUTLOOK

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, interest is growing rapidly in the issues raised by the proposed FAA order to restrict the use of some of our major airports.

Businessmen in my district are concerned and the economic repercussions will be felt throughout the country if these proposals are finally approved.

To further enlighten those who are interested in the issue, I include in the RECORD an editorial from Pilot, the magazine of the Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association, and an article from the same magazine which relates to the recent testimony of J. B. Hartranft, Jr., president of AOPA, before a Senate subcommittee.

Both the editorial and the article contain worthwhile suggestions which should be considered carefully in connection with the FAA proposals.

The editorial and article follow:

OUTLOOK

In a few months there will be a new President and Administration in Washington. So far as general aviation is concerned, we hope that will include the Department of Transportation. But a new DOT secretary might replace the socialized transportation notions of an Alan Boyd with just another equally uninformed or unconcerned DOT head. The basic danger remains: civil aviation cannot be subverted to the whims and notions of unqualified men. It is far too complex, dynamic and fast-moving to be toyed with by bureaucrats.

We've always had our problems with the FAA and its predecessor organizations, but the majority of FAA officials with whom we dealt seemed to understand what we were talking about. Even though general aviation has survived and grown in essentially a hostile, pro-airline atmosphere, it has grown nevertheless, and to an extent unequalled elsewhere on earth. But to subvert civil aviation to the rule of disinterested men from the world of shipping, railroading or highways, political appointees, or learned theorists from the halls of ivy, is dangerous. Congress itself recognized this in 1958 when it finally removed the FAA from the Department of Commerce and made it an independent agency. But it's now back under a non-aviation authority, and is in just as much trouble as would be the U.S. Treasury under the control of an expert in animal husbandry.

For once, the FAA itself needs help and understanding. Our emotions are mixed, of course; the hostile climate in which general aviation has grown has been nurtured largely by the FAA. But today, they can't even make their own policy. Disinterested as they have been in the past, the FAA would never have turned the airspace, airports and air navigation facilities over to the commercial airlines as DOT Secretary Boyd and his bright young theorist, Cecil Mackey, is trying to do. As a matter of fact, the FAA has actually been exhibiting a little more understanding of general aviation in recent years. Ironically, much of this has come in the regime of a nonflying ex-Air Force general, "Bozo" McKee. Now he has resigned suddenly, with the usual platitudinous exchange of letters with the White House. If the low morale of the rest of the FAA is any indicator, McKee probably resigned out of sheer disgust with DOT machinations.

With Mr. Boyd's testimony before the

Monroney Committee now on the public record, it's clear that general aviation is of no interest or concern to the Johnson Administration. Once Mr. Boyd is replaced, it can very well be with a man equally as dangerous, with the FAA helpless in his hands as well. We can only conclude what AOPA's testimony advocated before Monroney: return the FAA to an independent status.

At this moment, general aviation's future is not bright. If Secretary Boyd has his way, we're going to be forced to pay great sums for facilities we have never required, nor do we now. Various "safety" rules are in the works to restrict general aviation, and give almost unrestrained priority to the airlines.

But general aviation is fighting back. Individuals in all parts of the country are making their thoughts and wishes known to their members of Congress. At this point, with the DOT having made the Administration's position clear, we have little to lose. There is the usual loose talk about the "emergency need" for expanded funds to ease the congestion on the Air Traffic Control system. However, over 90% of general aviation could continue to operate if the whole IFR system was shut down. Every major airport from Los Angeles to New York could bog down and collapse, and general aviation would still be able to operate, while the airlines would not.

AOPA, and other general aviation spokesmen, have now taken what is virtually a unanimous stand on principle. The DOT is trying to ram its destructive proposals through Congress before this session adjourns. But key members of Congress now are aware of this opposition, and they don't appear to be ready to accept the DOT-airlines thesis that this is an emergency.

Faced with a hostile DOT, at this juncture general aviation has nothing to lose by continuously and repeatedly opposing their high-handed proposals right to the end of this session of Congress.

WE'VE HAD ENOUGH OF DOT

Two years ago the U.S. Congress was considering establishment of an Executive Department of Transportation as a super-agency responsible for all modes of travel in this country. At the time, many aviation organizations in particular either strongly opposed or voiced reservations about the wisdom of including the Federal Aviation Agency as an element of that department. They recalled too well the short shrift civil aviation had received for so many years under the Department of Commerce before being accorded a comparative first class citizenship by passage of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958.

Now, after a little more than a year of watching pre-1958 treatment of general aviation revisited, at least two major representatives of that segment of civil aeronautics want out.

Testifying before the Aviation Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce recently, AOPA President J. B. Hartranft, Jr., called for reestablishment of FAA as an independent Federal agency, declaring: "We have had more than enough of the Department of Transportation." That attitude was also expressed during the same subcommittee hearing by Frank Kingston Smith (AOPA 124393), executive director of the National Aviation Trades Association, which represents about 500 leading fixed-base operators from throughout the country.

The subject of and reason for the hearings were the complex, interwoven issues of airport development, airways modernization and user charges. The flintstone that sparked the demand was comprised of increasing pressures being brought by DOT that appear to be designed to tax and regulate general aviation either out of existence or into a state of regression. Those pressures were overtly

manifested by two proposed pieces of legislation fostered within DOT (see July PILOT, page 25) and by statements made by DOT Secretary Alan S. Boyd at the Senate hearings.

Boyd and other Executive Department officials, in response to a Presidential proclamation, have been contending that civil aviation is a "special benefit" and that the users of it therefore should foot the cost almost entirely for the Government to provide the airways system. They have claimed—with increasing frequency and loudness—that only the airlines contribute to the cost of the system, while general aviation sneaks in for a free ride. Therefore, they have proposed to increase fuel taxes for general aviation to an ultimate 10 cents a gallon and are openly encouraging airports to institute landing fees against private aircraft.

At the same time they claim that general aviation still would contribute less to the cost of the airways system than the airlines, so the general aviation segment would receive even less consideration for the proposed additional tax burden than it receives under the existing tax structure.

"Nonsense," Hartranft told the Senate Aviation Subcommittee. General aviation is the only segment of U.S. aviation that is paying its way and more. "Consider these facts," he said:

"The airlines enjoy a protected market to prevent destructive competition but they pay nothing for this protection; no commercial activity in general aviation enjoys the same privilege.

"The entire operation of the Civil Aeronautics Board is for the mutual protection of the airlines and their customers, but neither pays to support the operation. General aviation does not even have an equivalent source of statistical information but, as a general taxpayer, supports CAB's existence.

"NACA and NASA aeronautical research and development efforts have responded almost exclusively to space, military and airline demands; the attention to general aviation has been microscopic. The general taxpayer has supported it all.

"The airlines have a guaranteed loan program; general aviation has none.

"The airlines have a supersonic aircraft development program largely supported by the general taxpayer; general aviation has nothing remotely comparable.

"All airlines have received, and many still receive, operating subsidy at general taxpayer expense; general aviation has never had such assistance.

"For years the airlines have had some guaranteed income from mail pay; only recently have air taxis been able to penetrate this market. The rest of general aviation has nothing comparable.

"Because of operating subsidies, airline customers have been able to—and on local service airlines still can—purchase transportation at less than the full cost thereof; general aviation users have always paid the full cost of their transportation.

"Where landing fees are charged to both parties, the airlines pay at lower rates than most general aviation due to the operation of minimums and the allocation to general aviation users of costs caused by airlines.

"The airlines generally do not pay the state tax burdens for aircraft registration, airman licensing and fuel excises; general aviation does pay.

"The airlines have not built and maintained a single airport for their own or public use; general aviation has done so in 6,296 cases.

"The airlines pay less in Federal fuel excise taxes than does general aviation.

"General aviation provides all the revenue at the thousands of airports not served by the airlines. Even at those 521 airports served by the airlines upon which we have been able

to get the data . . . general aviation provides from 22% to 63% of the revenue.

"The cost of goods and services bought by general aviation on the airport includes a substantial percentage for the airport landlord.

"General aviation makes relatively few demands upon the airways system in proportion to its hours of flying; the exact reverse of the airline case.

"Those who say general aviation does not pay its way and cite figures to prove it are using mathematics to confuse rather than reveal the truth. We do, can and will pay our way in our own time."

AOPA has pointed out repeatedly that the "share of airways costs" Boyd claims is paid by the airlines is fallacious. In reality, the airlines contribute nothing from their operating revenues, other than two cents a gallon on aviation gasoline used in the comparatively few piston-engine aircraft still used in scheduled air carriers operations. Jet fuel is tax-free. Even the two cents a gallon now paid on avgas by the airlines would be eliminated under the DOT-advanced proposals.

Boyd's own callous disregard for general aviation was reemphasized when he told the Senate subcommittee: "The Federal Government has a greater interest in promoting the efficiency of the common carrier system of air transportation than it does in promoting private air transportation and, where a choice must be made, the common carrier system will receive preference."

All indications since the birth of DOT are that the choice was an immediate one. In a shortsighted, arbitrary manner, Boyd and Company have chosen to neglect or discount the economic, cultural and other contributions general aviation makes to the thousands of communities it serves, in AOPA's opinion.

The Senate Aviation Subcommittee is chaired by Sen. A. S. Mike Monroney of Oklahoma, who reportedly bridled at some aspects of the two legislative proposals submitted by Boyd. The recent hearings of the subcommittee in fact may have been partially elicited as a result of those proposals.

Sen. Monroney is not altogether averse to the concept of user charges. Apparently, however, he took exception to features of the DOT's proposed bills that would severely restrict Federal financial participation in airport development programs and that would irrevocably rule out establishment of a trust fund to finance such programs.

During the recent hearings, Sen. Monroney claimed that he had conducted a poll of all pilots residing in Oklahoma which indicated the majority favored user charges. An AOPA survey was made in that same state last month. (See accompanying article, "AOPA Polls Oklahoma Pilots On User Charges.")

The Aviation Subcommittee issued a report earlier this year (see March PRLOr, page 31) as a result of hearings concerning airport problems and safety that were held last summer. That report understood the apparent need for accelerated and expanded Federal participation to bring about the earliest possible completion of a national system of airports; immediate steps to alleviate congestion in the few terminal areas where it exists; and establishment of a trust fund program to partly finance the many facets of the overall aviation picture where Sen. Monroney and others believe a crisis situation has transpired.

The Senator appears to be wedded to the trust fund concept and, despite controverting testimony offered at both public hearings conducted by his subcommittee, he seems to believe that the user charge approach offers the only means to achieve it. Following the most recent hearings, Sen. Monroney immediately drafted a bill that reportedly reflected a compromise between his committee's earlier report and the DOT proposals. It also allegedly contained some

of the recommendations made by AOPA and others, however.

A week after the hearings, the full Senate Commerce Committee favorably reported a Bill (S. 3641) to establish an airways-airport trust fund, double the size of the present Federal Airport Aid Program (FAAP), and provide a \$1 billion guaranteed loan program for terminal area developments. The committee recommended establishment of passenger ticket taxes of 8%, air freight taxes of 5%, and excise taxes of seven cents a gallon on all general aviation fuel for a period of five years to support the trust fund. Each year, \$150,000,000 of the trust fund would go for 50-50 matching grants for airport development. Another \$250,000,000 would go for capital investments in airways facilities. Anything remaining in the fund would go to offset operating costs of the airways. Trust fund revenues could be expected to be short of the amounts required for all of these purposes, so some appropriations from the general fund still would be required to carry out the program.

The bill also calls for a cost allocation survey to be made by the Department of Transportation and the findings to be reported to the Congress within two years. The bill directs that the Secretary shall consult fully with and give careful consideration to the views of the users of the system."

In conducting the hearings, Sen. Monroney left the implication that he felt too much time and energy were being expended by general aviation and airline interests in clawing at one another's throats. On numerous occasions in the past he has demonstrated with both, declaring that they face a common crisis, soluble only through cooperation, compromise and the advancement of positive ideas.

AOPA does not argue with the need for positive ideas. In his statement, Hartranft advanced 14 new recommendations as well as reiterating nine previously offered suggestions that AOPA believes would, in the long run, prove mutually beneficial to all segments of aviation and the national interest.

AOPA's latest recommendations were that:

1. A grant in aid program for airport development should be authorized at a level of \$100,000,000 annually for the next 10 years.

2. Complete development aid should be given only for the first 3,500 feet of each paved and lighted runway and associated taxiways, ramps and land for public use airports.

3. Improvements to existing airports that already meet the development standards above should take second priority on a 50% matching fund basis.

4. Conditions imposed on development aid should include granting of tax relief for public use portions of privately owned, public use airports; release of land not required for common public use to fee simple ownership on publicly owned airports; provision by states of aeronautical counterparts to the highway department; airport planning and design that emphasizes parallel runway development as a solution to congestion relief and utility enhancement; and provision of lease terms to concessionaires that would allow them to amortize their capital investments over a reasonable period of time.

5. A \$1 billion revolving loan program with interest rates at Treasury levels should be established to accelerate development of public use airports.

6. Loans should be available to both public and private owners of public use airports without conditions other than that they be for the enlargement or improvement of runways, taxiways, ramps, terminal buildings, access roads and similar essential facilities for public use in common; that they be maintained for public use for a period of 30 years; and that adequate security be provided.

7. Conditions restrictive of traffic, in the

form of required landing fees or other specific charges, "prime time" charges, prohibitions of certain kinds of classes of traffic and similar measures should be strictly prohibited.

8. The principle of "first come, first served" in airport traffic acceptance should be clearly declared.

9. Administration of the programs should be vested in the FAA Administrator, not the DOT Secretary.

10. Rather than doing so much planning and planning control at the Federal level, these matters should be left to state and local authorities who are going to have to live with the completed projects.

11. Establishment, maintenance, improvement and operation of the airways is a Federal responsibility accepted and enacted by law, stated to be in the public interest for the safety service and defense of the nation at large; therefore it should be financed from general funds.

12. Every public use airport meeting the minimum standards in paragraph 2 above should be provided with some kind of an instrument approach.

13. Emphasis should be placed on employment of low cost facilities which have proven themselves adequate for the purpose.

14. Expansion of the flight service station system to provide service where it is needed should be paced to the expansion of flight operations.

With specific regard to user charges, Hartranft said that Government programs adopted in the public interest and imposed by law should be paid for by the public. AOPA recommended to the Senate Aviation Subcommittee, therefore, that no proposal for user charges should be considered for adoption at this time. Should subsequent intensive study by the House Ways and Means Committee (the legislative body responsible for initiating revenue measures) indicate that aviation user charges are needed, the most equitable method of implementation would be in the form of a uniform excise tax on all fuels used by all aircraft operators, regardless of the nature, location or character of their activity, Hartranft told the subcommittee.

That method of inducing airline interests to contribute a true share of "user charges" would be a hard pill for DOT to swallow. There are too many officials in that agency who appear to look upon the airline industry with paternalistic protection. The distorted view that DOT seems to hold of general aviation, on the other hand, serves only to derogate private aircraft operations and defeat the sense of the Federal Aviation and Federal Airport Acts, Hartranft has charged.

"This being the kind of 'leadership' we can do without, we recommend here and now that FAA be reestablished as an independent agency," Hartranft told the subcommittee. "We cannot speak to the disillusionment, widely reported in the press, of the maritime industry, high speed rail advocates, highway trust fund contributors and other interests, but we have had more than enough of the Department of Transportation."

AMERICAN ECONOMY: STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the text of the sixth in my series of radio broadcasts on the issues facing the Nation in this election year:

THE AMERICAN ECONOMY: WEAKNESSES AND STRENGTHS

Our nation has great strength. The strength is not just the power of our bombers, the missiles, and guns. Our real strength—our greatest strength—is the production of our factories, the imagination and diligence of our people, the wealth and resources of our richly blessed land.

The American economy—envied by all the world—is the bedrock source of all our power.

Today, I want to talk to you about the state of that economy—its achievements and its weaknesses. I want to talk about debts and deficits, about government spending and inflation, about the power of the dollar and industrial growth, and what I think needs to be done to set the American economy on a steady and sure course.

These are complicated matters. And they seem far away from our everyday lives. But that is a false impression. The economy cuts deeply into the personal lives of all of us. The economy is your job, and your neighbor's job; your house and the bank's mortgage; your baby's clothes and the hospital's bills; your paycheck and the government's taxes. In the past few years, we have learned much about the workings of economic matters. Our economy has never been stronger and more vigorous than during the 1960's.

1. June marked the 88th month of uninterrupted prosperity and economic expansion. Average duration of previous periods of prosperity was about 30 months.

2. After taking into account taxes, price increases and other deductions, the average family of four in Indiana today has \$1736 more disposable income than in 1960. This increase in real income amounts to 31%—an increase equal to all the gains of the preceding 19 years.

3. In the past seven years, 10 million more Americans are at work and more than 12 million Americans have moved above the poverty line.

4. Unemployment has dropped to 3.5%, the lowest it has been since 1953.

This record of accomplishment offers a stark contrast with the economic performance of the nation during the fifties. In this period, there were 3 recessions; unemployment climbed to 7%; and fiscal year 1959 produced the largest peacetime budget deficit—\$12.4 billion. Expenditures as a percentage of GNP were greater during the six Republican fiscal years between 1954 and 1960 than during the past four years. Whereas federal administrative budget expenditures were 16.3% of GNP during the last six fiscal years of the 1950's; during the four years of the Johnson Administration, expenditures averaged less than 16% of GNP. In fiscal 1968, federal expenditures exclusive of the cost of the Vietnam war will amount to less than 15% of GNP. And even if Vietnam expenditures are included, the total federal budget expenditures in 1968 will amount to less than 17½ percent of GNP.

In short, during the 1950's spending was up, revenue was down—prices were up, jobs were down. Today that dangerous trend has been reversed. Today's economy offers much to cheer about. But there are also some trouble spots.

1. An increasing price instability.
2. The American economy is beginning to expand much too rapidly. The record increase of \$20 billion in GNP during the first quarter of 1968 is dangerous to our economic stability.

3. The federal deficit in fiscal year 1968, of approximately \$20 billion, has resulted in a dangerous tightening of the money supply and increased interest rates. For the first time in 50 years the Treasury has to pay 6% to borrow money. Mortgage rates are approaching 7% on the average and running above that in many areas. The major contributor to the deficit is the more than \$30 billion a year needed to carry on the Vietnam War.

4. A deteriorating position with respect to our balance of payments and a decline in the strength of the dollar in the international money market. In 1967, this country ran a balance of payments deficit of nearly \$4 billion. In the first quarter of 1968, we markedly improved that position. First quarter figures on an annual basis show a \$2.4 billion deficit.

THE PROBLEM

The problems of the American economy are the problems of prosperity. While we have a growing economy, more people employed than ever before, and more buying power than ever before, we clearly have the beginnings of a wage price spiral, a decline in confidence in the dollar, and the possibility of chronic budget deficits slowing our real growth in the future.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DEALING WITH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

1. We should first exercise fiscal restraint. This requires that we establish clear spending priorities, and then cut the federal budget to match these priorities. To do this, I propose the following cuts in the federal budget:

A. A freeze on government employment at 97% of the present employment level. This reduction in government employment would save the federal government approximately \$1 billion.

B. Cancellation of the super-sonic transport, thereby saving \$225 million.

C. A reduction in spending in the space program.

D. A reduction in foreign aid—particularly in the areas of military assistance, direct governmental support loans, and huge development projects. Money should be directed instead to place more emphasis on technical assistance. We should give no more aid to a country than their own bureaucracy is capable of administering. Savings about \$1 billion.

E. A cutback in funds allocated for research and development.

F. A deferral of public works projects.

Secondly, for the future, we must establish clear spending priorities. We must recognize and observe the limitations of our economic policy. The United States Congress and the American people must make a commitment to spend for those things that are important and necessary, and to give up those things of lesser importance. This country cannot do everything for others, or everything for itself.

Thirdly, our economic and trade policies of the future must be geared toward the goal of a world-wide trading and financial community free from restraints on exports and imports. At the same time we are lowering trade barriers, it is only fair that the government assist those businessmen, farmers, and workers who because of increased imports face serious financial problems. In the past trade adjustment assistance has been ineffective. This program needs to be replaced with a fair and workable plan. The test for eligibility should be simply: immediate relief is made available whenever increased imports are a substantial cause of injury.

Fifth, in order to continue to play upon the strength of the American economy, we must encourage competition in this country by anti-trust actions and by the removal of excessive regulations on American business.

And finally, the policies of the future must continue to be based on the economic knowledge we have gained during the Kennedy-Johnson Administration. This means an active government fiscal policy designed to keep the growth of private demand and public wages reasonably in line with the expected growth in our productive capacity, which is approximately 4 to 4½ percent per year.

The choice is, it seems to me: Are we going to retreat to the chaotic economic policies of the past—with cycles of boom and bust, feast and famine—or are we going to continue the steady, measured policies of re-

cent years which produce consistent and enduring economic growth? Do we want to slide up and down, or do we want to march steadily, surely toward greater prosperity for all Americans.

On the whole, we are a wealthy nation—growing more prosperous every day. But that is not enough. For those to whom much is given much is expected.

We must remember that economic policies and the wealth they generate are used wisely only when they are used to serve the needs of the people. We must not judge our nation by the quantity of its goods, but rather by the quality of the lives of all the people.

Wealth brings new burdens, but they are burdens accompanied by challenge and opportunity.

I believe the suggestions I offer today to guide our economic future form a policy that can meet these demands, while continuing our growth.

They are policies of fiscal responsibility—and human responsibility. They are not radical, but contemporary; not extravagant, but progressive. They are policies which form the sure and steady course for the American economy.

GOOD GUN CONTROL BILL IS APPROVED

HON. RICHARD D. MCCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, September 23, the lead editorial in the Buffalo Courier-Express was entitled: "Good Gun Control Bill Is Approved." In the editorial, the Buffalo Courier-Express praised Congress for enacting the bill extending the mail-order ban to shotguns and rifles.

I think the Buffalo Courier-Express is to be commended for taking this enlightened stand. The Courier-Express has in the past opposed repressive antigun laws but has shown courage and enlightenment in supporting the measure that passed the Senate.

So that other Members of the House will have an opportunity to read the Courier-Express editorial, I include it in the RECORD, as follows:

GOOD GUN-CONTROL BILL IS APPROVED

The bill banning interstate mail-order sales of rifles and shotguns which the Senate has approved seems to correct adequately a defect in the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act which was passed by Congress earlier this year. The original law outlawed the interstate mail-order sale of handguns and certainly the ban should be extended to shotguns and rifles. The bill now goes to a joint House-Senate conference where early agreement on a final draft of the measure is expected.

The Courier-Express, which has strongly opposed legislation requiring federal licensing and registration of firearms, has long felt that a law against mail-order sales of long guns and handguns would be of national benefit. The problem is that the most vocal advocates of gun-control legislation have always insisted that the law go far beyond this—almost to the point, in some extreme cases, of making it virtually impossible to possess firearms legitimately. There also are die-hards who vehemently oppose any type of gun-control legislation.

Those at the extreme on both sides of the question probably will fight the Senate-

approved bill—some on grounds that it goes too far and some on grounds that it doesn't go far enough. But those who view the matter objectively, rather than emotionally, probably will agree that the measure fills a need of society without infringing on basic rights of the public.

We would suggest that those who think the federal government should go further in curbing the use of firearms should devote their efforts to the passage of legislation which would impose a mandatory long-term prison sentence on anyone convicted of using a handgun or a long gun in the commission of a crime.

If a 10-year or 15-year sentence in such cases were mandatory—not discretionary with the judge and with no possible suspension or lessening of the sentence on any grounds such as a first offense or mitigating circumstances—and if the sentence was added to any sentence imposed for the actual commission of the crime, we are certain that the use of firearms in criminal activity would be reduced substantially. Legislation of this type would strike directly and forcefully at those who misuse firearms and would not affect in any way the sportsmen and others who use them legitimately.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT COVER-UP

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, it will be recalled that back in 1963 three State Department employees testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to the effect that they knew nothing, nor were a party to, the installation of a listening device in the office of Otto F. Otepka, the State Department security officer, whose case has since become a national issue. After testifying before the subcommittee, the three later sent a letter to the subcommittee acknowledging that their previous testimony had been untrue and misleading and they did, in fact, have knowledge of the installation of a device in Otepka's telephone.

Later the three officials again appeared before the subcommittee, and this time delivered the best examples of evasion, double-talk and misrepresentation rendered by supposedly responsible Government employees in a long time.

Since that time no attempt has been made by either the State Department or the Justice Department to prosecute these three on charges of possible perjury. In 1967 I asked the Justice Department how the case was coming, having seen a letter from the State Department stating that the transcript of the hearings had been sent to Justice for review and possible prosecution. Justice wrote back and stated that no transcript had been referred to them, and that the committee before which the testimony took place refers the case to Justice for possible action.

Next, Senator STROM THURMOND sent Justice the statements of the three State Department employees, pointing out in detail the inconsistencies in their testimony. Justice replied by saying that the committee would have to refer the charges.

On June 5, 1968, the subcommittee voted to ask Justice to review the testimony.

On September 18, the Government Employees Exchange printed the partial text of a letter from the Justice Department to another Senator explaining why the Justice Department was not going to push for prosecution. One of the reasons given was the 5-year lapse of time which might prove to be a violation of the constitutional right to a speedy trial.

The Justice Department, in mentioning the speedy trial aspect, cited the case of United States against Parrott. The summary of this particular case as it appears on page 196 of the Federal Supplement 248 reads:

The District Court, Gasch, J., held, *inter alia*, that indictment would be dismissed for failure to afford defendants a speedy trial under record including showing that delay of at least approximately 22 months between the date when criminal reference report was referred to United States Attorney and date of indictment was the result of inaction amounting to negligence in the U.S. Attorney's Office, that no adequate explanation of that delay had been forthcoming, and that defendants were prejudiced by the delay.

So the Justice Department is citing a case in which the U.S. Government was negligent in its duties to support their argument for taking no action. From what I can ascertain, it appears that the U.S. Government, through the Justice Department, has delayed this case 5 years and is now using this excuse to justify their action.

I have again written to the Justice Department asking for more particulars on their handling of the case. I include the text of my letter to Justice, along with their reply to me back in 1967, and the article, "Charges Against Reilly, Belisle, Hill Not To Be Pressed by Justice, Vinson Informs Clark," from the Government Employees Exchange of September 18, 1968, in the RECORD at this point:

SEPTEMBER 26, 1968.

HON. RAMSEY CLARK,
Attorney General of the United States, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CLARK: This inquiry concerns the delay by the Justice Department in deciding not to prosecute the three State Department employees, Messrs. Reilly, Hill, and Belisle, which case was referred to your office by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on June 5 of this year.

On August 8, 1967, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, William Macomber, Jr., responded as follows to an inquiry from another Congressional office:

"I have been informed that the transcript of the testimony given before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee by Messrs. John F. Reilly and Elmer Hill has been forwarded to the Department of Justice for review and recommendation on possible perjury charges against these witnesses."

At a press conference on January 4, 1968, Secretary of State Dean Rusk was asked why no action had been taken in four years on the perjury charges. He replied, "I think this is a decision of the Department of Justice, based on the record."

On December 8, 1967, Assistant Attorney General Vinson replied to my query on the possible perjury charges:

"Having searched our files and discussed this matter with Mr. Macomber, I can advise you that his information is apparently in

error. There has been no such referral of the transcript of the testimony of Messrs. Reilly and Hill to this Department for review and recommendation on possible perjury charges."

The record, referred to by Mr. Rusk above, indicates that the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee began its last series of hearings on State Department Security in February, 1963; they ended in May, 1965. Otto F. Otepka was the first witness, followed by a score of others, including Reilly, Belisle, and Hill. It is my understanding that, observing a long established practice, the Subcommittee dispatched a copy of the stenographic transcripts of each witness' testimony to the Justice Department through the F.B.I. Among the transcripts were the testimony of Hill on July 6, 1963; Belisle on July 29, 1963; and Reilly on August 6, 1963 when each denied any knowledge of the tapping of Mr. Otepka's phone.

The record also indicates that testimony by State Department witnesses before the Subcommittee showed that the Department of Justice began an investigation of Mr. Otepka in July, 1963, which was to continue for some time. F.B.I. agents who talked with Mr. Otepka in August, 1963, advised him that the investigation was being made, not at the request of F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover, but at the behest of the Attorney General's Office. Any investigative data obtained, including the testimony of Reilly, Belisle, and Hill, was coordinated with and furnished to the Attorney General's offices and to the Internal Security Division.

In view of the deep involvement of the Justice Department in the Otepka case, I should appreciate knowing whether the Justice Department received copies of the testimony of Reilly, Belisle, and Hill as early as 1963.

In his letter of December 8, 1967, Mr. Vinson also stated:

"Instances of possible perjury before a committee of Congress are brought to the attention of the Department of Justice for review and prosecutive determination by direct referral from the Congressional committee before which the testimony was given."

In clarification of the above statement, I should like to know what statutory or other basis is there which requires the Justice Department to suspend prosecution on possible felonies until referral by a congressional committee?

This question is especially pertinent in view of Justice Department policy in 1964. According to his testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Mr. J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Internal Security Division, Department of Justice, required no congressional referral before initiating action. On August 14, 1964, Mr. Yeagley was asked by Mr. J. G. Sourwine, counsel for the Subcommittee:

"MR. SOURWINE. Do you remember the referral to the Department (of Justice) of the case of William Welland for determination as to whether the Department desired to prosecute for perjury in connection with, or growing out of his testimony before this subcommittee?"

"MR. YEAGLEY. I do not believe the Welland case was formally referred to us for determination as to whether prosecution for perjury was feasible. His testimony, however, had been brought to our attention and we made an examination and arrived at a determination merely because we felt it was our responsibility to do so, but I do not recall a referral." (Subcommittee Hearings, State Department Security—1963—696, Part 1, p. 88) [Emphasis added.]

Mr. Yeagley's Internal Security Division derives its jurisdiction regarding perjury cases involving government employees from Section 13, E.O. 10450, which states:

"The Attorney General is requested to ren-

der to the heads of departments and agencies such advice as may be requisite to enable them to establish and maintain an appropriate government security program." (See U.S. Govt. Org. Manual, 1968-69, p. 222.)

This phase of my inquiry concerns the so-called "mutilation of documents" charges which were brought against Otto Otepka but which were dropped in June, 1967. An article in the Washington Post of June 7, 1967, written by George Lardner, Jr., stated:

"Irving Jaffe, Justice Department attorney representing State in the proceeding, said he moved for dismissal of the ten charged for varied, 'technical, legal reasons.'"

The article went on to say:

"Dismissal of the 'mutilation' charges, Jaffe declared, 'had nothing to do with (problems of) proof,' but he declined to elaborate." [emphasis added]

My third question, of course, is why Otepka was not prosecuted by the Justice Department for violation of 18 U.S.C. 2071, and what were the "technical, legal reasons" for dropping the charges if, as the Washington Post quotes Jaffe, a question of proof was not involved?

Your reply to these three specific questions, all possibly involving malfeasance on the part of the Justice Department, will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

JOHN M. ASHBROOK,
Representative to Congress, 17th District.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, D.C., December 8, 1967.

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This is in response to your letter of November 15, 1967, in which you quote from a letter of William B. Macomber, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, concerning testimony of Messrs. Reilly and Hill before the Senate Internal Securities Subcommittee.

Instances of possible perjury before a committee of Congress are brought to the attention of the Department of Justice for review and prosecutive determination by direct referral from the Congressional committee before which the testimony was given. Having searched our files and discussed this matter with Mr. Macomber, I can advise you that his information apparently is in error. There has been no such referral of the transcript of the testimony of Messrs. Reilly and Hill to this Department for review and recommendation on possible perjury charges.

Sincerely,

FRED M. VINSON, JR.,
Assistant Attorney General.

[From Government Employees Exchange,
Sept. 18, 1968]

CHARGES AGAINST REILLY, BELISLE, HILL NOT
TO BE PRESSED BY JUSTICE, VINSON INFORMS
CLARK

In a response to an inquiry made by Senator Joseph Clark for a constituent in Upper Darby, Pennsylvania, Fred M. Vinson, Jr., Assistant Attorney General, indicated that the Department of Justice would not press perjury charges against John F. Reilly, David I. Belisle, and Elmer D. Hill growing out of their testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1963.

The three men figure prominently in the Otto F. Otepka case. Senator Strom Thurmond by letter earlier this year had asked the Department to review the testimony given by the three men after it was disclosed that they had altered it at the hearings of the former top Security Evaluator at the Department of State. Mr. Otepka's appeal for reinstatement is now before the Civil Service Commission's Board of Appeals and Reviews. Mr. Thurmond's request was rejected at that time by Mr. Vinson on the contention that the Department couldn't act unless it was

instructed to do so by a congressional committee. A resolution adopted by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security on June 5, this year, initiated the review.

Below appears a partial text of the August 21, 1968, letter addressed to Senator Clark by Mr. Vinson:

"Our examination of the record of the subcommittee's hearings, consisting of 1806 pages in twenty parts, indicated that testimony given by these individuals in July and August 1963 (Hill—July 9, 1963; Belisle—July 29, 1963; and Reilly—August 6, 1963) was substantially modified in later appearances before the committee in November 1963.

"Making the assumption that the earlier testimony was not truthful, we concluded that the matter did not merit presentation to a grand jury at this late date.

"The mere fact of contradictory statements under oath is not enough to establish perjury under the special rule applicable to perjury prosecutions. In view of the corrective testimony of the witnesses subsequent to their initial testimony, the case would have presented grave difficulties before a jury.

"Moreover, under the decisions of the District of Columbia Circuit where this prosecution would lie, prosecution might have already been impossible because of the lapse of time between the 1963 statements and the present time. The rule in that Circuit is that substantial delay may be a violation of the Constitutional right to a speedy trial even if the prosecution is brought within the period of limitations. United States v. Parrott, 248 F. Supp. 196 (1965).

"Sincerely,

"FRED M. VINSON, JR.,
Assistant Attorney General."

AMERICA'S INCREDIBLE ATTORNEY GENERAL

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, my newsletter follows:

AMERICA'S INCREDIBLE ATTORNEY GENERAL

During his five years in office, LBJ has made some startling appointments, but the most bizarre of all has turned out to be Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

If there is one place in this country that we need a hard-nosed, no nonsense person it is in the Attorney General's office.

An effective, hard-hitting Attorney General could lead the anti-crime crusade in this nation and be a rallying point for our harassed and maligned police departments.

A tough Attorney General could also press the prosecution of those in organized crime, communist agitators who travel state to state stirring up riots, and those who break other Federal laws.

But, Clark has turned out to be super-soft on law enforcement and has actually denied there is a crime wave in this country.

And, incredibly, Clark seems more worried about "police violence" than the fact that in most cities in the United States it isn't safe on the street at night.

Clark testified recently here that "of all violence, police violence in excess of authority is the most dangerous. For who will protect the public when the police violate the law?"

Clark completely ignores the fact that violent crimes have increased 73% during the years since 1960.

And, while Clark sets up our police departments as the "bogeymen" to watch out for, he even goes further in condemning Amer-

ican society as one "that celebrates the power of violence."

At the same hearing in which Clark delivered his attack on the American police departments, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover stoutly defended our police, saying:

"The violence of the criminal, often cold-blooded and calculated, is especially felt by law-enforcement officers. Crime and violence are increasing primarily because there is a mass deterioration in the respect shown for the rule of law in our nation and for some who enforce it. Heightening the atmosphere of resentment of authority and irresponsibility to others in our society is an all-too-prevalent defiance of duly established laws and rules that is euphemistically termed 'civil disobedience.' The demagogic exhortations of a number of civil rights, peace, and student leaders have done much to encourage and condone lawlessness and civil disobedience."

I believe the American people will take the word of J. Edgar Hoover over LBJ's bleeding-heart Attorney General who worries more about the police, than the fact that our cities have been wracked by riots, crime is out of control and communist-incited riots and demonstrations have become common place.

When Clark made his incredible attack on the police, we checked a local Washington, D.C. newspaper that week, to find out how bad the police were "misbehaving."

We couldn't find any accounts of police brutality, but we did note that:

1. Mayor Walter E. Washington of Washington, D.C., was victimized by a burglar in his bedroom. The mayor chased him out, but lost \$70 and his wallet.

2. Two university coeds were approached by five thugs while walking near the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, in a fashionable neighborhood. One girl was slugged and robbed of \$20, the other was raped.

3. A gunman kidnaped and assaulted a 24-year-old nurse near Dupont Circle.

4. Five bandits robbed a Washington bank of about \$22,000 then traded shots with the manager of a neighboring store as they fled. From across the street, students at an elementary school lined classroom windows to watch the action.

5. In suburban Washington, two men took \$3,477 from a chain food store—but were wounded and captured in a gun battle with police.

This was a typical day in the nation's capital, where the United States Attorney General sits in his office and worries about "police violence."

A church within two blocks of the Capitol dome has had to close its doors during all hours but when services are in progress, because of vandalism and theft. At the same church, a woman was stabbed at the altar while praying.

LBJ should fire Ramsey Clark immediately and appoint someone that at least recognizes the problem.

MR. NIXON AND AMERICAN POPU- LATION GROWTH

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, like millions of Americans, I have been entranced by the series of radio and television commercials promoting the presidential aspirations of Mr. Richard M. Nixon, as well as by news reports setting forth Mr. Nixon's prescriptions for the cure of America's ills as he dissects the

American dilemma and subjects its bits and pieces to microscopic examination.

I must confess that I have learned to admire the objectivity of Mr. Nixon when, for example, he contrasts the economic stagnation of the Nixon-Eisenhower years with the historic growth of the gross national product with the unprecedented increase in the numbers of people gainfully employed and with the sharp decline in the unemployment rolls, which have characterized the past 7 years of Democratic administration.

I think that it is high time that some prominent national Republican figure, and I credit Mr. Nixon for taking the initiative in this respect, has called attention to the dismal failures of the likes of such as Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller and Mayor John V. Lindsay, Republicans both, to maintain law and order with or without justice in the city of New York.

Crime in New York City during the Rockefeller and Lindsay administrations has reached such unprecedented levels that organized criminal activity takes place in broad daylight right on the steps of city hall as well as in public offices owned, maintained, occupied, but obviously not controlled, by the city's department of social services.

Indeed, so rampant has crime become in New York City that it would not cause a ripple of surprise if someday in broad daylight the city hall itself is stolen with the mayor inside his office. So it is all to the good that Mr. Nixon courageously calls the attention of the American people to the inability of the Republican State and city administrations to curb crime and maintain public order.

I might suggest to Mr. Nixon that it would serve no useful purpose on his next visit to New York City to denounce the U.S. Supreme Court for its decisions in the Miranda and Escobedo cases or other judicial decisions relating to confessions. Those decisions have in fact made no impact on law enforcement in New York City. Obviously, there can be no confession without prior apprehension. And in New York City, while the crime rate goes up, the arrest rate declines in absolute and in relative figures.

Apparently, there is one thing though about the Democratic administration during the past 7 years that bugs Mr. Nixon terribly because he harps on it so frequently. "During the 7 years of the Democratic administration," Mr. Nixon says, "population has increased 10 percent." Mr. Nixon becomes so impassioned about this statistic that he invariably splutters out the sentence in a manner that makes impossible comprehension of the missing words symbolized by the dots in the quotation.

I rather imagine that all of America shares Mr. Nixon's concern that the American population has increased "only 10 percent" in 7 years of Democratic administration. Certainly the specter of a vast continental area stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to Mexico, devoid of people is indeed a frightening one.

Based on my best knowledge, information, and belief, I had had the distinct impression that Democrats were indeed doing everything in their power to promote our population growth. Evidently,

Mr. Nixon does not think much of Democratic progress and achievement in this vital area. I suggest that many Democrats are prepared, in the interests of patriotism, to submerge partisan differences and cooperate fully with Mr. Nixon to improve America's world posture with respect to population growth. No decent American would support a program for a stunted American population.

All that is necessary to mobilize America's resources for this objective is for Mr. Nixon to spell out precisely and frankly what he, personally, and Republicans, generally, propose to do to increase America's population growth. I do not doubt for a single moment that the American people will wholeheartedly follow Mr. Nixon's leadership in this respect.

WHERE DOES NIXON STAND?

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is not difficult to understand why Republican leaders are doing everything possible to prevent a TV debate between presidential candidates. They are making all kinds of alibis to prevent a face-to-face discussion of the issues where everyone can best judge the views, character, personalities and ability of the three leading candidates.

It will be especially interesting to learn where Mr. Nixon stands on the important issues that face the Nation and our people.

I would like to include with my remarks, Mr. Speaker, an editorial by Robert Spivack in a recent issue of Washington, D.C., Examiner. The Spivack column, which follows, raises some interesting questions which the public is entitled to know:

LET THE PEOPLE KNOW

(By Robert Spivack)

Vice President Humphrey is trying in every way a candidate can to get former Vice President Richard M. Nixon to let the public know where he stands on the major issues of the day.

Nixon, understandably, does not want to be drawn out. He wants no nationwide TV debate, he does not meet the press for full-blown news conferences, he uses a kind of sign language to tell the public where he stands.

Now it's possible that people do understand what Nixon would do if he were elected President, along with a Republican-controlled Congress.

Sen. Strom Thurmond seems satisfied, on the one hand, and Mayor John Lindsay seems almost equally pleased. But if Thurmond and Lindsay both find the former Vice President's views okay, then maybe there is something wrong with them, with him, or with us.

The more Nixon campaigns the more difficult it becomes to visualize just what he would do about the major problems he would inherit the moment he took office.

All right, let's grant Nixon immunity from commenting on the proposed advancement of Justice Abe Fortas to Chief Justice. This is a hot and prickly issue and no matter what stand he takes there is hardly a vote to be won.

But there are other problems that will be with us after Congress goes home and the public is entitled to some specific discussion about them. People are not for Nixon because he has "charisma." And being for him because they are sore at the Administration, or the black militants, or the noisy Left public moods do not remain fixed forever.

Let's take several of the major domestic problems, since Spiro T. Agnew now says that he and the No. 1 Republican do not have any plan for ending the war in Vietnam.

For example, what about the War on Poverty? Would Nixon abolish the Office of Economic Opportunity? Would he merge it into the Depts. of Labor and H.E.W.? Would he curtail Head-start, VISTA?

Or take the question of grants for local communities of the kind now being made by the Dept. of Housing and Urban Development? Would Nixon abolish this program? Or change it? If the latter, what changes would he make?

Or what about the economy in general? Would Nixon do anything about high prices? Does he favor wage and price control? Would he curtail the power of the Federal Reserve Board, as recommended by Rep. Wright Patman? Would he roll back interest rates?

In many ways the biggest hurdle the Republicans have to leap is that feeling among many Americans that the election of the Grand Old Party means hard times. If Nixon could reassure working people and those on fixed incomes that they would have job security under Republican rule, or protection against inflation, his worries (and theirs) would be over.

It's really not a question of accommodating Hubert Humphrey to answer these questions.

When people get done talking about "law and order" or the war, they still have to worry about paying their bills, getting medical care at prices they can afford, and putting away a little for a rainy day.

These may not be the "big issues" that keep the university "think tanks" busy, but when the voter goes into the polling place these are also the things that concern him as he makes his personal, momentous decision, choosing the next President.

EDITORIAL PRAISES U.S. ASSISTANCE TO VOLCANO VICTIMS

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 26, 1968

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, on July 29 Mount Arenal, a volcano located some 60 miles north of San José, Costa Rica, began erupting after five centuries of inactivity. More than 65 people were killed and over 6,000 refugees evacuated in the immediate disaster area. Ash has fallen 50 miles to the north and west of the volcano, with the heaviest damage due to ash fall reportedly occurring just west of the mountain.

The United States immediately offered disaster relief assistance. Two helicopters to assist in evacuation, tents, blankets, and medical supplies were requested by Costa Rican Civil Defense authorities and flown in from the Canal Zone. In response to a request by President Trejos, President Johnson sent a special team of three leading U.S. scientists to work with the Costa Ricans in gathering data on the volcano's activity.

It is believed that the damage and

destruction constitute a serious setback to the agriculture of Costa Rica and to the country's stabilization and diversification program.

Our assistance is appreciated and I ask permission to reprint in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from a San José newspaper expressing gratitude to the United States for the help rendered Costa Rica during its tribulations.

[A U.S. Embassy translation of editorial in La Republica of San José, Costa Rica, Aug 2, 1968]

YANKEE IMPERIALISM

How many times have we seen the phrase "Yankee Imperialism" or some such painted on the walls of our city as a demonstration of hate toward the United States! We won't go into the political reasons for such propaganda but we do wish to call attention to it as we contemplate the generosity and altruistic spirit of the Government of the United States and the American residents in our country in these moments of intense suffering and grief for our homeland.

Far be it for us to ignore the ample humanitarian cooperation of many other sister nations, but we wish to extol especially the moral and material support of the United States because we feel its detractors should analyze the facts with more courtesy and fairness.

Lest anyone misinterpret our words, it is only fair to recognize the generous and humanitarian spirit of the American people toward all the countries of the world in time of tragedy. In the field of cooperation and friendship, few peoples can boast of more worthwhile performance.

Five years ago, when the volcano Irazu erupted, the assistance of the American government and people was immediate and ample. The people of Cartago still remember the quiet tireless work of the Seabees in defense of their city. Today history repeats itself, in its tragic consequences and in the examples of cooperation and sympathy. The American people have responded quickly and generously, not only in material goods and economic aid, but also with acts of personal courage which the Costa Rican people will

never forget. A group of men left their work and their homes and marched toward the scene of the tragedy to cooperate with the rescue and refugee efforts, even at the risk of their own lives.

We don't think everything they do is good, and many times we have disagreed with their policy, attitudes and conduct; we have protested what we consider its myopia in international affairs, but in our present agony we keep silent.

So today those grimly lettered signs on our city's walls are all the more obvious and painful, because we know they do not represent the sentiment of the Costa Rican people.

We think we speak for our people—for the men who have suffered irreparable losses, for the homeless, the bereaved, for the children in their suffering—as we express our thanks to all our sister countries who have responded to our needs, and to the government and people of the United States who, with so much Christian liberality and compassion, have given us an example of their "Imperialism."

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, September 30, 1968

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Hear my prayer, O Lord, and give ear to my supplications.—Psalm 143: 1.

We thank Thee, our Father, for this moment of prayer when we turn our hearts unto Thee and in all sincerity of mind and heart receive the guidance of Thy good spirit.

Let not the glory of this day, nor the glow of good health, nor the glamour of our position blind us to the seriousness of our tasks and deceive us into thinking that we can depend upon ourselves alone. All we are and all we have is a trust, O Lord, from Thee. Help us to be wise stewards of Thy gifts and to use them for Thy glory and to make more secure the freedoms of our country.

Bless these Representatives with Thy gracious favor, our people with the fruits of Thy loving spirit and all of us together with the faith in democracy that never falters and never fails.

We pray in the name of Him for whose kingdom we labor. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, September 26, 1968, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3068) entitled "An act to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 119) entitled "An act to reserve certain public lands for a national wild and scenic rivers system, to provide a procedure for

adding additional public lands and other lands to the system, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 3865) entitled "An act for the relief of Mauritz A. Sterner."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 14935) entitled "An act to amend title 39, United States Code, to regulate the mailing of master keys for motor vehicle ignition switches, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 15758) entitled "An act to amend the Public Health Service Act so as to extend and improve the provisions relating to regional medical programs, to extend the authorization of grants for health of migratory agricultural workers, to provide for specialized facilities for alcoholics and narcotic addicts, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate recedes from its amendments to a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 17104. An act to extend until July 15, 1969, the suspension of duty on electrodes for use in producing aluminum.

The message also announced that the Senate recedes from its amendments to the bill (H.R. 17735) entitled "An act to amend title 18, United States Code, to provide for better control of the interstate traffic in firearms," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. DODD, Mr. MCCLELLAN, Mr. ERVIN, Mr. EASTLAND, Mr. TYDINGS, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. HART, Mr.

DIRKSEN, Mr. HRUSKA, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. SCOTT, and Mr. PEARSON to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 17324) entitled "An act to extend and amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. LONG of Louisiana, Mr. SMATHERS, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. GORE, Mr. TALMADGE, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware, Mr. CARLSON, Mr. BENNETT, and Mr. CURTIS to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 653) entitled "An act to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on certain nonmalleable iron castings," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. LONG of Louisiana, Mr. SMATHERS, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware, and Mr. CARLSON to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 7735) entitled "An act relating to the dutiable status of aluminum hydroxide and oxide, calcined bauxite, and bauxite ore," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. LONG of Louisiana, Mr. SMATHERS, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware, and Mr. CARLSON to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

PERMISSION TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 10837, DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR AND HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

Mr. FLOOD, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the managers on the